

Dow, R.E.

378.744

BO

AM 1933

dow

Boston University
College of Liberal Arts
Library

THE GIFT OF The Author

378.744

B0

AM 1933

dow

p7477

CONTENTS

I	Introduction.....	1
II	Part I.....	2
	A. Boston University.....	2
	B. Graduate School.....	3
	C. Declaration to Submit.....	4
	Thesis.....	4
	THE OCTAVIUS OF MINUCIUS FELIX.....	5
	Difficulties.....	7
III	Part II.....	8
	A. The Dialogue.....	8
	B. Summary of.....	12
	(a) Ruth Ellsworth Dow.....	12
	(b) (A.B., Colby, 1927).....	13
	(c) Submitted in partial fulfillment of the.....	14
	requirements for the degree of.....	19
	Master of Arts.....	23
	(d) Conduct.....	30
	1933.....	31
	Character.....	31
	(a) Cicillius.....	32
	(b) Octavius.....	34
	Style.....	36
IV	Part III.....	37
	A. Nationality.....	38
	B. Education.....	41
	C. Profession.....	42
	D. Religious Beliefs.....	44
	E. Purpose in Writing.....	45

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
LIBRARY

AE.R.

THE UNIVERSITY OF

CHICAGO

p7477

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

378.744
BO
AM 1933
dow

CONTENTS

I	Introduction.....	1
II	Text.....	40
	Codex Parisinus.....	2
	Codex Bruxellensis.....	3
	Restoration to Author.....	4
	Corruptness of Manuscript.....	6
	Editions.....	9
III	The Dialogue.....	32
	Summary of the Argument.....	12
	(a) Introduction.....	12
	(b) Pagan Argument.....	14
	(c) Transition.....	19
	(d) Christian Argument.....	20
	(e) Conclusion.....	30
	Characters.....	31
	(a) Caecilius.....	32
	(b) Octavius.....	34
	Style.....	36
IV	Author.....	
	Nationality.....	38
	Education.....	41
	Profession.....	42
	Religious Beliefs.....	44
	Purpose in Writing.....	46

CONTENTS

I	Introduction.....	7
II	Text	
2	Code of Ethics.....	
3	Code of Professionalism.....	
4	Declaration to Author.....	
5	Statement of Responsibility.....	
6	Editorial.....	
III	The Manuscript	
10	Summary of the Manuscript.....	
11	(a) Introduction.....	
12	(b) Second Argument.....	
13	(c) Conclusion.....	
14	(d) Christian Argument.....	
15	(e) Conclusion.....	
16	Character.....	
17	(a) Conclusion.....	
18	(b) Conclusion.....	
19	Style.....	
20	IV Author	
21	Reliability.....	
22	Reliability.....	
23	Professional.....	
24	Religious Beliefs.....	
25	Purpose in Writing.....	

V	Relation of "Octavius" to Other Works.....	51
	Cicero.....	52
	Seneca.....	58
	Lucretius.....	60
	Plato.....	61
	The Poets.....	63
	The Bible.....	65
	Tertullian.....	67
	Cyprian.....	78
VI	Date of Writing.....	82
VII	Summary.....	87
	Bibliography.....	88

V	Relation of "Octavina" to Other Works.....	51
	Cicero.....	52
	Romans.....	53
	Imperial.....	54
	Plato.....	55
	The Poets.....	56
	The Bible.....	57
	Terentian.....	58
	Cyprian.....	59
VI	Date of Writing.....	60
VII	Summary.....	61
	Bibliography.....	62

I

INTRODUCTION

The "Octavius" of Minucius Felix is a charming little book of disputation between a pagan and a Christian, at the close of which the intellectual Roman is convinced of the reasonableness of the new faith in the light of knowledge and philosophy. The freshness of the beach at dawn lies about this polemic; the logic of argument floats in on description and emotion: two souls knit into one, childhood lisplings, curling waves, and boys at play. "Octavius"

The book we have - though not in perfect form. Knowledge of the book and author from other sources we have not, except in scanty mention. We know little; consequently, conjecture has been rife, amplifying this little. Who was Minucius? When did he live? Were the disputants actual persons? Did Minucius draw upon the "Apologeticus" of Tertullian? When we read the conflicting opinions of scholars on these subjects we may apply to this problem the declaration of Caecilius "omnia...dubia, incerta, suspensa magisque omnia verisimilia quam vera." (1)

This paper will bring a consideration of the codex itself, then pass to an analysis of its content. Since this content is the source of what little is known concerning the author, the varying deductions from its evidence and the inference of tradition will be compared. The similarity

(1) Minucius. "Octavius". 5. 2.

INTRODUCTION

The "Octavian" of Minucius Felix is a charming little book of disputation between a pagan and a Christian, at the close of which the intellectual Roman is convinced of the reasonableness of the new faith in the light of knowledge and philosophy. The treatment of the book is drawn like about this polemic; the logic of argument flows in on description and emotion: two souls knit into one, child-hood feelings, swirling waves, and boys at play. The book we have - though not in perfect form. Knowledge of the book and author from other sources we have not, except in scanty mention. We know little; consequently, conjecture has been rife, amplifying this little. Who was Minucius? When did he live? Were the disputants actual persons? Did Minucius draw upon the "Apologists" of Tertullian? When we read the conflicting opinions of scholars on these subjects we may apply to this problem the definition of Cassius "omnis...dubia, incerta, suspensa magisque omnia verisimilia quam vera." (1)

This paper will bring a consideration of the book itself, then pass to an analysis of its context. Since this context is the source of what little is known concerning the author, the varying deductions from its evidence and the inference of tradition will be compared. The similarity

of this book in form and expression to the work of other writers will be indicated and the baffling relationship between the apologies of Minucius and Tertullian discussed. This relation has an essential connection with the problem of the date of the "Octavius," which is the final topic of this paper.

II

TEXT

CODEX PARISINUS

The earliest extant manuscript of the "Octavius" is a ninth century copy now in the Paris Library. Without title, this book follows the seventh book of the work of Arnobius "Adversus gentes" as the eighth (octavus) by that author. "Arnobii liber VII explicit incipit liber VIII feliciter." These eight books are written on good quality parchment, adorned with gold on the outside, front and back. This is enclosed by wooden covers from which both clasps have been lost. These are covered by black calfskin trimmed with embellishments including the crest of Henry II. (1)

In the sixteenth century, Faustus Sabaeus of Brescia, curator of the Vatican Library, found this manuscript, probably in a Swiss or German library, purchased it, brought it to Rome. "Iure enim belli, ait, meus est Arnobius, quem e media barbarie non sine dispendio et discrimine eripuerim." (2)

(1) Migne. Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Vol. III, col. XLIV.

(2) Reifferscheid. Arnobii adversus nationes libri VII, p. VII.

of this book in form and expression to the work of other writers will be indicated and the working relationship between the apologetics of Minutius and Tertullian discussed. This relation has an essential connection with the problem of the date of the "Octavius", which is the final topic of this paper.

II

TEXT

CODICES PARISIENS

The earliest extant manuscript of the "Octavius" is a ninth century copy now in the Paris Library. With this book follows the seventh book of the work of Arnobius "Adversus gentes" as the eighth (Octavius) by the same author. "Arnobii Liber VII explicit incipit Liber VIII Felicianus." These eight books are written on good quality parchment, adorned with gold on the outside, front and back. This is enclosed by wooden covers from which both clasps have been lost. These are covered by black calf skin trimmed with embossed leather including the crest of Henry II. (2) In the sixteenth century, Francois Babou of Brezillac, curator of the Valignan Library, found this manuscript, probably in a library or German library, purchased it, brought it to Rome. "Incipit Liber VII, explicit Liber VIII, quoniam non alio modo scriptum est et alio modo expressum." (2)

He published a Roman edition about 1543 under the title of "Arnobii disputationum adversus gentes libri octo nunc primum in lucem editi," which was dedicated to the French king, Francis I (1515-1547).

In the time of Henry II (1547-1559) the codex was⁽¹⁾ in the royal library at Paris. Reifferscheid believes that the codex had been sent with the published copy as a gift to Francis I, to whom it was dedicated. Others⁽²⁾ think that the original was presented to the French king by order of Pope Leo X (1513-1521). However it may have arrived in France, there is little doubt that the manuscript now in the Paris Library, codex 1661, is the one used by Sabaeus.

CODEX BRUXELLENSIS

A second manuscript, codex Bruxellensis 10847, of the eleventh century, now in the royal library at Brussels, is clearly a copy of the Paris codex.

(1) Reifferscheid. Arnobii adversus nationes liber VII, p.vii.

(2) Migne. op. cit. III, col. XLIV-XLV.

Rigaltius. "Marci Minucii Felicis Octavius." Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, p. 235.

Ceillier. Histoire Générale des Auteurs Sacrés etc. I, p. 556.

He published a Roman edition about 1275 under the title of
 "Annoali diectionum aduersus gentes libris octo cum
 primis in lucem editi." which was dedicated to the French
 king, Francis I (1517-1547).

In the time of Henry II (1547-1559) the codex was
 (1) in the royal library at Paris. Helfferich believes that
 the codex had been sent with the published copy as a gift to
 Francis I, to whom it was dedicated. Others think that
 the original was presented to the French king by order of
 Pope Leo X (1513-1521). However it may have arrived in
 France, there is little doubt that the manuscript now in
 the Paris library, codex 1661, is the one used by Garwood.

CODIX BRUXELLENSIS

A second manuscript, codex Bruxellensis 10847,
 of the eleventh century, now in the royal library at Brussels,
 is clearly a copy of the Paris codex.

- (1) Helfferich, Annoali aduersus gentes libris VII. c. vii.
- (2) Magne. op. cit. III. col. XLV-XLV.
- Recherches. "Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de la Ville de Paris."
- Bibliothèque de la Ville de Paris. c. 225.
- Collection. Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de la Ville de Paris.
- I. p. 228.

RESTORATION TO AUTHOR

After three editions as an appendix to Arnobius, (including one by the famous scholar Erasmus) the book was, for the first time, restored to its own author, Minucius Felix, by Franciscus Balduinus in the Heidelberg edition of 1560. He accounted for the error in the following manner: "Sed haec frequens est querela de librariorum nihil non temere miscentium facinoribus. Fortasse ut hunc libellum Arnobio quidam ascriberent, quaedam styli et argumenti similitudo, quae imperitos persaepe fallit, fecit: et cum legerent Octavium, statim somniarunt octavum aliquem esse librum. Ridicule profecto et inepte." (1) However the subject matter of the so-called eighth book had little in common with Arnobius and the style could not easily be confused as the note to the reader in an edition published in 1643 points out in a strong figure: "Nec tuo compendio (candide Lector) nec scriptoris hujus dignitati satis caverunt, qui limpidissimam purae Latinitatis scatebram cum turbido Arnobio confundebant." (2) Nor is the continuance of the mistake easily explained - to quote further from the "Praefatio" by Balduinus - "Sane Hieronymus scribit, Nepotianum suum tam in scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis diligenter versatum fuisse, ut si quid ex iis proferretur, statim agnosceret atque discerneret, quid Tertulliani, quid Cypriani, quid Lactantii, quid Minucii, quid Victorini, quid Arnobii esset. Caeterum

(1) "Praefatio Fr. Balduini in M. Minucii Felicis Octavium" in Hayes' edition, 1686.

(2) Alma, edition, 1643.

RESTORATION TO AUTHOR

After three editions as an appendix to *Arctologia*,
(including one by the famous scholar Erasmus) the book was

for the first time, restored to its own author, Minnaeus
Falk, by Franciscus Baldmann in the Heidelberg edition

of 1850. He accounted for the error in the following manner:

"sed haec praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

esse videtur. Praeparata est quae in libris non

(2) *Alma*, edition, 1843.

tanto magis miror Erasmus eo loco, illum dico Erasmus, hominem acerrimo iudicio praeditum, et talium scriptorum minime obtusum censorem, annotasse, hujus Minucii nihil nunc extare." (1) The references of Lactantius (2) and Jerome (3) to an apology by Minucius Felix entitled "Octavius" led to its return to its own author. A definite quotation by (4) Lactantius from this work in his "Divinae Institutiones" gives further evidence of its authorship.

In 1583 Ursinus published an edition in which he separated the work of Minucius from Arnobius without any acknowledgement of Balduinus' previous discovery. It seems incredible that the Balduinus edition should not have been known to Ursinus. Furthermore the "Animadversiones" of Hadrian Junius showed that Antonius Morillonus had also separated this eighth book from Arnobius without, however, identifying its author. (5) Migne claims that this discovery antedated that of Balduinus. (6)

-
- (1) op. cit. Quotation from Jerome. "Epistolae" LX. Patrologiae Cursus Completus, XXII, col. 595.
 (2) "Divinae Institutiones" I, 11; V, 1. Patrologiae Cursus Completus, VI, cols. 180-1, 551.
 (3) "Epistolae," LXX, 5; "De Viribus Illustribus," LVIII; Patrologiae Cursus Completus, XXII, col. 668; XXIII, col. 669.
 (4) I, 11. op. cit. col. 551. Compare Octavius. 21, 7.
 (5) Ceillier. op. cit. I, p. 556.
 (6) op. cit. col. XLV.

tanto magis nunc tractum de loco, illud die traximus.
 hominem accersit iudicio praesentis, et talium sententiarum
 minime optatum censorum, amissionem, minus libenter
 extant. (1) The references of last lines and terms
 to an ecology by Minus Felix entitled "Ostentum" led to
 the return to its own author. A definite quotation by
 (4)
 Lactantius - from this work in his "Divina Institutiones"
 gives further evidence of its authorship.
 In 1882 Urelius published an edition in which he
 separated the work of Minus from Arnobius without any
 acknowledgment of Balduinus' previous discovery. It seems
 incredible that the Balduinus edition should not have been
 known to Urelius. Furthermore the "Anabaptismus" of
 Hübner further showed that Arnobius' Homilies had also
 separated this eighth book from Arnobius without, however,
 identifying its author. (2) It was claimed that this discovery
 antedated that of Balduinus. (3)

-
- (1) op. cit. Quotation from Jerome. "Epistolas" I. I. Patrologiae
 Graecae Concilium, XVII, col. 291.
 - (2) "Divina Institutiones" I, II, V, I. Patrologiae Graecae
 Concilium, VI, cols. 180-1, 291.
 - (3) "Epistolas" I, II, V. De Viris Illustribus, XVIII;
 Patrologiae Graecae Concilium, XVII, col. 291; XVIII, col.
 292.
 - (4) I, II, op. cit. col. 291. Concilium Graecum, VI, V.
 - (5) Concilium, op. cit. I, p. 256.
 - (6) op. cit. col. XIV.

CORRUPTNESS OF MANUSCRIPT

The Paris codex which is our only authority for the text of Minucius is very corrupt. Reifferscheid⁽¹⁾ deduced from the type of corruption that at the beginning of the ninth century a scribe in some Swiss or German monastery copied in small letters a book in cursive writing which had its source in uncials. Often the words are not separated, or the letters are so grouped into words that the lack of comprehension of the thought on the part of the scribe is conspicuous. Thus we have "dindym apud et dicere" for "Dindyma pudet dicere"⁽²⁾ (23.4) and "nescivit ire sias"⁽³⁾ for "nescivit. Tiresias"(26.5). The majority of proper names are incorrectly given: "carneatis" for "Carneadis" (13.3), "simonides melchi" for "Simonidis Melici" (13.4), "bryttania" for "Britannia" (18.3), "iuua" for "Iuba" (21.9), "lesui" for "Vesuvi" (35.3). Single letters and syllables are omitted, inserted, transposed; sometimes entire words are left out or added: "ipsuo" for ipso suo"(19.14), "fabebamus" for "favebamus" (28.4), "milesius" for "Melius" (8.2), "conbuia" for "conubia" (31.3), "repudiaris alterum conprobaris" for "repudiaris alterum, alterum conprobaris" (5.1), "inundare dicit" for "inundare" ("loquitur" is in sentence) (34.4).

Some passages are so perverted that the restoration is doubtful. Various editors produce varying emendations.

(1) op. cit.

(2) Waltzing edition, note p. vi. Chapter and section numbers are those of the edition by Waltzing, Teubner, 1926.

(3) See critical apparatus for each reference, Waltzing edition.

CONSTRUCTION OF MANUSCRIPT

The Paris codes which in our only authority for the

(1)

text of Minuscule is very correct. Referred to below

from the type of correction used at the beginning of the

first century a native is some times or German monasteries copied

in such letters a book in cursive writing which the source

in Minuscule. Often the words are not repeated, on the letters

are so grouped into words that the lack of representation of

the thought or the part of the sentence is conspicuous. Thus

we have "dixit enim ad discipulos" for "dixit enim discipulis"

(2)

(3)

(25.4) and "necesse est illis" for "necesse est illis" (25.5).

The majority of proper names are incorrectly given: "carnealis"

for "carnealis" (13.5), "almonas delon" for "almonas"

lilid" (13.4), "epistola" for "epistola" (13.5), "luna" for

"luna" (21.5), "luna" for "luna" (21.5), "luna" for

and syllables are omitted, inserted, transposed, sometimes

entire words are left out or added: "luna" for "luna" (13.5),

"luna" for "luna" (25.4), "luna" for "luna"

(2.5), "luna" for "luna" (21.5), "luna" for "luna"

conspicuous" for "conspicuous" (21.5), "luna" for "luna"

(2.1), "luna" for "luna" (21.5), "luna" for "luna"

sentences) (24.4).

Some passages are so garbled that the restoration

is doubtful. Various errors produce varying amendments.

(1) See also...

(2) See also...

(3) See also...

In 14. 1, the codex has "pistorum"; Elter changes to "istorum", Stieber to "Christianorum".(1) Hauptius, followed by Waltzing, emends "tua eruditio" (16.1) to "vafritia", Vahlen to "versutia". The manuscript has "certior" (16.2) but Ursinus and Waltzing favor "incertior". In 19. 9-10, the manuscript reads "praeficit aristoles ponticus variat alias mundo alias menti divinae tribuens principatum heraclides ponticus quoque de deo divinam mentem quamvis varie adscribit" (with "dō" written above "it") "theofrastus et zenon et crysippus et cleanthes..."; Waltzing, incorporating changes suggested by Roeren and Vahlen, has, "Aristotles variat et adsignat tamen unam potestatem: nam interim mentem, mundum interim deum dicit, interim mundo deum praeficit. Theophrastus etiam variat, alias mundo, alias menti divinae tribuens principatum. Heraclides Ponticus quoque mundo divinam mentem quamvis varie adscribit. Zenon et Chrysippus et Cleanthes..." In 33.3 the verb of which "ipsi" is the subject is unexpressed; Synnerberg supplies "dereliquerant", Halm "expertum sunt". In several instances restoration has followed Cicero's "De natura deorum" or Cyprian's "Quod idola dii non sint". Such is the case in 34.2, where "omnem adeo mundum, si solem lunam, reliqua astra desierit" is

(1) See Waltzing edition, 1926, critical apparatus for this and each of the following references. Stieber's emendation is based on XRISTORUM. Halm edition. Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. I, p. xiv.

(1)
 inserted from Cicero's work and in 18.8, where "tactu
 purior est" is assumed from Cyprian's treatise." (2)

The efforts to correct these obscure passages are
 traced back by Reifferscheid (3) to the very time of copying
 the book. He is convinced that the Paris codex was written
 in a monastery where the ways of old were maintained and
 the love of literature flourished. He reaches this conclusion,
 first, from the notes written according to the old custom
 in the margin; secondly, from the carefulness with which the
 codex was corrected after the writing. Perverted passages
 were indicated by ÷ or . or by R(require). Corrections have
 been made at different times by different emendators. Three
 different revisers of the ninth century have apparently
 corrected, interpolated and reformed the spelling. In the
 fifteenth century somewhere the codex fell under the hand
 of a learned man, and again in the sixteenth, after Sabaeus'
 edition of Arnobius from this codex and before Scaliger's
 use of the manuscript in the royal library. Editor after
 editor has emended, revised and interpolated until confusion
 is added to confusion.

The order of several chapters is changed by Waltzing,
 who believes that he has restored the true order. (4) Linder
 and Vahlen had previously made changes of sequence. (5)

"Mire corruptum esse hunc librum mendisque scatere
 cuiusvis generis notum est." (6)

(1) III. 14, 37. (2) 9. (3) op. cit. p. x.
 (4) Waltzing, p. 32, critical apparatus.
 (5) Halm. op. cit., critical apparatus, p. 31.
 (6) Reifferscheid. op. cit., p. xii.

(1) inserted from Orosio's work and in 18.6, where "lactum"

number 22" is inserted from Orosio's translation." (2)

The efforts to correct these obscure passages are

shown back by Hellenistic to the very time of copying

the book. He is convinced that the Latin text was written

in a monastery where the text of old were maintained and

the love of literature flourished. He traces this conclusion

first, from the notes which accompany the old custom

in the margin; secondly, from the correspondence with which the

text was corrected after the writing. Perverted passages

were indicated by a mark or by Hellenistic. Corrections have

been made at different times by different scribes. These

different revisions of the ninth century have apparently

corrected, interpolated and removed the text. In the

eleventh century somewhere the text fell under the hand

of a learned man, and again in the sixteenth, when Erasmus

edition of Arminius from this text and before Scaliger's

use of the manuscript in the royal library. Since then

editor has amended, revised and interpolated until confusion

is added to confusion.

The order of several chapters is changed by Valentin

who believes that he has restored the true order. (4) Lindsay

and Valien had previously made changes of order. (3)

"The corrupted text has been handled by scribes

of various kinds not at all." (5)

(1) 111. 14, 37. (2) 9. (3) 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27.

(4) Valentin, p. 32, critical apparatus.

(5) Halm, op. cit., critical apparatus, p. 32.

(6) Hellenistic, op. cit., p. 111.

EDITIONS

Since the first publication by Sabaeus in 1543 many editions of this little book, and translations in six languages, have appeared. Among these are the following:

Gelenius	Basel	1546	as part of Arnobius
Balduinus	Heidelberg	1560	
Ursinus	Rome	1583	with Arnobius
Wower	Basel	1603	with Cyprian's "Quod idola" etc..
Elmenhorstius	Hamburg	1610	
Heraldus	Paris	1613	
Rigaltius	Paris	1643	
Alma	Cambridge	1643	
Ouzelius	Lugduni Batavorum	1652	
Cellarius	Hallae	1699	
Davis	Cambridge	1707	
Lindner	Longosalissae	1760	
Migne	Paris	1844	Patrologiae Cursus Completus
Oehler	Leipsig	1847	Bibliotheca Patrum Ecclesiasticorum
Holden	Cambridge	1853	
Hahn	Vienna	1867	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
Bährens	Leipsig	1886	
Boenig	Leipsig	1903	
Schöne	Leipsig	1913	
Fahy	Dublin	1919	
Waltzing	Leipsig	1926	

EDITIONS

Since the first edition by Gerson in 1845 many editions of this little book, and translations in six languages, have appeared. About these are the following:

Gelatinus	Basel	1548 as part of Arminius
Balduinus	Hallesium	1560
Utriusque	Rome	1575 with Arminius
Worms	Basel	1603 with Gerson's "Euchologia" etc.
Alenbachensis	Hamburg	1610
Hervetus	Paris	1613
Alenbachensis	Paris	1613
Alia	Carlsruhe	1645
Gualterius	Leipzig	1652
Gellertus	Halles	1669
Davis	Cambridge	1707
Linhart	Neuchâtel	1780
Migne	Paris	1844 Patrologia Latina
Gehler	Leipzig	1847 Bibliotheca Latina
Holden	Cambridge	1853
Hahn	Vienna	1867 Gerson's Briefe
Britannicus	Leipzig	1886
Horn	Leipzig	1903
Schone	Leipzig	1913
Pap	Leipzig	1919
Alenbachensis	Leipzig	1926

TRANSLATIONS

English

James	1636
Dalrymple	1781
Wallis	1885 The Ante-Nicene Fathers
Brodribb	1903
Freese	N.D. Translations of Christian Literature
Rendall	1931 The Loeb Classical Library

French

Thomas le Révérend	1617
D'Ablancourt	1636
De Gourcy	1786
Perricaud	1823
Denain	1839
Waltzing	1903

German

Lukbert	1836
Bieringer	1871
Dombart	1881

Dutch

Gargon	1712
--------	------

Italian

Poletti	1756
---------	------

Spanish

Yurriera	1792
----------	------

TRANSLATIONS

English

James	1838
Deityville	1781
Bellevue	1885 The Anti-Slavery
Brooklyn	1803
France	W.D. Translation of Origin- and Literature
Handell	1821 The Book of Daniel Library

French

Thomas le Breton	1817
D. M. M. M. M.	1830
De Gournay	1788
Particulars	1823
De Gournay	1839
Wellsing	1803

German

Luther	1823
Storinger	1871
Dobner	1881

Dutch

Gordon	1778
--------	------

Italian

Polizzi	1788
---------	------

Spanish

Wellsing	1703
----------	------

Waltzing has probably done more for Minucius than any other scholar. His works include "Lexicon Minucianum" (1909), "Studia Minuciana" (1906), several editions of the "Octavius", a bibliography in "Musée Belge" (1902) and articles on various phases.

Waldman has probably done more for Wisconsin than

any other scholar. His works include "Lexicon Wisconsinensis"

(1909), "Studies Wisconsin" (1906), several editions of the

"Glossary", a bibliography in "Masses" (1902) and

articles on various phases.

III

THE DIALOGUE

SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT

(1)

(a) Introduction

Octavius was dead. Minucius, as memory reviewed the incidents of their comradeship, seemed to go back into the past, reliving rather than recalling the sweetness of that life. Yea, more intense, now that he was gone from sight of eyes was the impression of that face upon his heart. In pleasure and in thought they had shared one mind as it were. Sole confidant of youthful follies, companion in days of unbelief, Octavius had not forsaken him when he shook off the mists of darkness and came forth into the light of truth, but rather, had anticipated him. As thought passed from one event to another, it fixed finally upon that discourse of Octavius in which Caecilius had been convinced of the vanity of the Roman worship and was brought to belief in the true religion.

Octavius had left his home, his wife, his children who were still in that age of broken words made charming by childish lisping, to attend to some business and see his friend in Rome. After two days of fellowship and exchange of confidences the two friends had sought Ostia with its healing baths and pleasant relief from the duties of the lawcourt in

III

THE DIALOGUE

SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT

(1)

(a) Introduction

Orestes was dead. Minerva, as memory reviewed the incidents of their journey, seemed to go back into the past, reliving rather than recalling the sweetness of that life. Yes, more intense, now that he was gone from sight of eyes was the impression of that face upon his heart. In pleasure and in thought they had shared one mind as if were. Sole confident of youthful follies, companion in days of unbelief, Orestes had not forgotten him when he stood off the mist of darkness and came forth into the light of truth, but rather, had anticipated him. As thought passed from one event to another, it fixed finally upon that discourse of Orestes in which Cassius had been convinced of the vanity of the Roman worship and was brought to belief in the true religion.

Orestes had left his home, his wife, his children who were still in that age of broken words made charming by childish lying, to attend to some business and see his friend in Rome. After two days of fellowship and exchange of confidences the two friends had sought Orestes with its healing baths and pleasant relief from the duties of the lawcourt in

the holidays of the vintage season. These two with a third friend, Caecilius, were enjoying the invigorating breeze of dawn and the sensation of sand softly yielding at every footstep on the beach, when Caecilius noted a statue of Serapis near by and pressed his hand to his mouth in reverence, as the custom was. Octavius turned to Minucius and reproved him for allowing a friend so constantly at his side to remain in such darkness that in broad daylight he would kiss stones, even though they might be carved into figures, anointed with oil and covered with garlands. At this point the strollers reached the open shore where gentle ripples made smooth the beach, and curling waves at play now touched their feet, now receded. Octavius beguiled the way with an account of his trip. As the friends at last retraced their steps, they stopped to watch a group of boys at play, skipping smooth particles of shells across the crests of waves in eager rivalry to prove who the champion should be by making his shard skip the greatest number of times and sail the farthest. But Caecilius' eyes were not on the sport of the boys; instead, he stood silent, apparently musing on a grievance. When questioned about the loss of his customary vivacity, he admitted that he was stung by the remark of Octavius which charged Minucius for negligence no more than it indirectly accused him of ignorance. To show his knowledge he challenged Octavius to debate the matter from beginning to end - no longer

the holidays of the vintage season. These two with a third friend, Cassius, were enjoying the invigorating breeze of dawn and the sensation of sand softly yielding at every footstep on the beach, when Cassius noted a statue of Gipsy near by and pressed his hand to his mouth in reverence as the statue was. Octavia turned to Minnie and reproved him for allowing a friend so constantly at his side to remain in such darkness that in broad daylight he would kiss stones, even though they might be carved into figures, anointed with oil and covered with garlands. At this point the strollers reached the open shore where gentle ripples made smooth the beach, and curling waves at play now lapped their feet, now receded. Octavia beckoned the way with an account of his trip. As the friends at last retraced their steps, they stopped to watch a group of boys at play, skipping smooth particles of shells across the crests of waves in eager rivalry to prove who the champion should be by making his hand skip the greatest number of times and with the farthest. But Cassius' eyes were not on the sport of the boys; instead, he stood silent, apparently musing on a grievance. When questioned about the loss of his customary vivacity, he admitted that he was stung by the remark of Octavia which charged Minnie for negligence no more than it indirectly accused him of ignorance. To show his knowledge he challenged Octavia to debate the matter from beginning to end - no longer

friendly discussion but logical disquisition. The three took seats on the embankment sheltering the baths, with Minucius, as judge, between the two opponents.

(1)
(b) Pagan Argument

Caecilius begins with a statement of Academic principle that all things within human experience are uncertain and unprovable, rather probable than true. Consequently it is rash indeed for men, illiterate and untaught, to make a decision regarding the vital issues of life about which philosophy, active for so many centuries, is still weighing the evidence. Since so much has been suspended high above us, so much sunk far beneath us, which we cannot know, it is enough if we heed the oracle, "Know thyself". The universe with all its occupants came as a result of the combination of atoms which, again, break up and reunite. In all this operation of nature there can be the action of no god; else, why should the good suffer as well as the bad?

In the uncertainty of all these matters it is more reverent and beneficial to regard the tradition of our ancestors and continue in the rites which they have taught us. We see each country worshiping its own gods, the Romans all gods. By the observance of sacred ceremonies and by the acts of the representatives of religion, the city of Rome has extended its domain far and wide over land and sea. That the gods make known their will is shown by augury and

friendly discussion but logical disputation. The three
took seats on the embankment sheltering the gates, with
Minimus, as judge, between the two opponents.

(1)
(b) Pagan Argument

Cassilius begins with a statement of Aristotle's
principles that all things within human experience are uncertain
and unprovable, rather probable than true. Consequently it
is rash indeed for men, philosophers and scientists, to make a
decision regarding the vital issues of life about which
philosophy, active for so many centuries, is still weighing
the evidence. Since so much has been ascertained right above us,
so much sunk far beneath us, which we cannot know, it is
enough if we heed the oracle, "Know thyself". The universe
with all its occupants came as a result of the combination
of atoms which, again, break up and reunite. In all this
operation of nature there can be the action of no god; also,
why should the good suffer as well as the bad?

In the uncertainty of all these matters it is more
reverted and beneficial to regard the tradition of our
ancestors and continue in the rites which they have taught us.
We see each country worshipping its own gods, the Romans all
gods. By the observance of sacred ceremonies and by the
role of the representatives of religion, the city of Rome
has extended its domain far and wide over land and sea.
That the gods make known their will is shown by omens and

auspices; that they reveal how they may be placated when angry is witnessed by Cybele, the twin brothers, and Jove, by the Decii and Curtius; that disregard of that will is disastrous is made clear by Allia, Claudius and Junius, Trasimene, Flaminius, and Crassus. The gods through oracles give warning in danger, bring relief to the sick, the hopeless and unfortunate, offer comfort to the sorrowing and respite for the suffering. We even see the gods by night though we deny them in the day.

Though no nation can explain the origin or meaning of its religion, yet no one is so bold or so sacrilegious as to try to break the power of long-standing and salutary rites, save a few individuals who availed little. Should one not grieve that people of this unlawful and despicable sect assail the gods? and they, too, of the lowest dregs of society, ignorant men and credulous women, who meet at night, bound not by ties of religion but of guilt. They keep in hiding, are silent in the presence of others, but chatter around corners. They despise temples, reject the gods, they laugh at rites, they, poor wretches!, pity the priests, they despise offices and scarlet robes, themselves half-naked! What unbelievable stupidity and incredible impudence to scorn present torture but fear future and unknown, to fear death after death, but not present death! They even cherish a vain hope - to live again. From day to day the influence of

answered; that they reveal how they may be planted when
any is witnessed by Cybele, the twin brothers, and love,
by the Devil and Christ; that disregard of that will be
disastrous is made clear by Alice, Claudine and Janine.
Treatment, Flaminio, and Crassus. The gods through oracles
give warning in danger, bring relief to the sick, the homeless
and unfortunate, offer comfort to the sorrowing and reprieve
for the suffering. We even see the gods by night though we
deny them in the day.

Though no nation can explain the origin or meaning
of its religion, yet no one is so bold or so unscrupulous
as to try to break the power of long-standing and salutary
rites, save a few individuals who avail little. Should
one not give to people of this unfaithful and despotic
sect as all the gods, and they, too, of the lowest degree of
society, ignorant men and credulous women, who meet at night,
bound not by ties of religion but of guilt. They keep in
hiding, are silent in the presence of others, but chatter
around corners. They despise temples, reject the gods, they
laugh at rites, they, poor wretches, pity the priests, they
despise offices and sacred robes, themselves half-naked!
What unbelievable stupidity and incredible ignorance to scorn
present fortune but fear future and unknown, to fear death
after death, but not present death! They even cherish a
vain hope - to live again. From day to day the influence of

this vile group is spreading. It must be uprooted. They recognize one another by secret signs, fall in love with one another before they are hardly acquainted, call each other brother and sister, and fornication is practised under the name of religion. Were there not some truth in these reports, rumor would not circulate such scandalous things for the very mention of which apology is necessary. It is said they worship the head of an ass, a condemned criminal and a wooden cross. When a new member is initiated he is beguiled to stab a knife into a doughy mass within which is concealed a baby. Those present then eagerly drink up the blood, tear the infant limb from limb: the knowledge of this heinous deed is a pledge of silence. Fronto makes known their feasts: men come with their children, sisters, mothers - people of all ages. After the feasting and drinking when men wax hot with wine and lust, a morsel is thrown beyond the reach of a dog tied to the lamp. The dog leaps for the tidbit, the lamp is upset, the light is out - all are guilty, if not in deed, in complicity. Why are these people so secretive about the object of their worship? Honor rejoices in public recognition; guilt seeks seclusion. Why have they no altars, no temples, no statues, no open speech, no free meetingplace, unless it be that their worship is criminal or shameful? Where did they get that solitary god of theirs? Who is he? Where is he? No free nation, no kingdom, no religion - in Rome at least - has

This vile grove is spreading. It must be rooted. They
recognize one another by secret signs, call in love with one
another before they are publicly acquainted, call each other
brother and sister, and fornication is practised under the
name of religion. There there not some truth in these

reports, rumor would not circulate such scandalous things
for the very mention of which apology is necessary. It is
said they worship the head of an ass, a condemned criminal
and a wooden cross. When a new member is initiated he is
beheaded to step a knife into a doughy mass within which is
concealed a baby. These parents then eagerly drink up the
blood, fear the infant limp from limb: the knowledge of

this heinous deed is a pledge of alliance. Friends make
known their feelings: men come with their children, sisters,
mothers - people of all ages. After the feasting and drink-
ing when men wax hot with wine and lust, a corpse is thrown
beyond the reach of a dog tied to the flag. The dog leaps
for the tidbit, the lamp is quenched, the light is out - all
are guilty, all not in deed, all complicity. Why are these

people so sensitive about the object of their worship?
Honor rejoices in public recognition: public censure excites
why have they no sisters, no brothers, no fathers, no sons
assembled, no free meetings, unless it be that their
worship is criminal or shameful? Where did they get that
solitary god of chastity? Who is he? Where is he? No free
nation, no kingdom, no religion - in Rome at least - has

ever known him. Only that wretched tribe of the Jews has ever worshiped one god, but they did so openly, with temples, altars, offerings and rites. That this god had no power is shown by the fact that he and his people were taken captive by Rome. What a queer god these Christians conceive! They cannot see him nor show him to others, but he can find out the deeds, the words, the secret thoughts of every man, running about, here, there, and everywhere. They threaten that this whole universe will perish in ruin and fire. They trust a lie, that from cinders and ashes after death they shall be born again. What a contradiction to ascribe destruction to the universe which we leave as we find it, and to promise themselves who live and die, unending existence! For this reason they condemn cremation, as if time did not disintegrate every corpse. This unending existence is eternal life of bliss for them, the good; everlasting punishment for all others, the wicked. What men do is attributed to their god, not to fate. Then he is an unjust judge to punish men for the lot which he has given them. Do they rise again with bodies or without bodies? with what kind of bodies? with the same or new ones? If without a body, there would be no mind, no soul, no life. If with the same body, that is long since decayed. If another body, a new man is born, not the former restored. In all the length of time past, in the countless centuries that have gone, what one person

ever known him. Only that wretched tribe of the Jews has
ever worshipped one god, but they did so openly, with temples,
altars, offerings and rites. That this god had no power
is shown by the fact that he and his people were taken
captive by Rome. What a queer god these Christians conceive!
They cannot see him nor show him to others, but he can find
out the secrets, the words, the secret thoughts of every man,
running about, here, there, and everywhere. They threaten
that this whole universe will perish in rain and fire.
They trust a lie, that from sinners and unrepentant sinners
they shall be born again. What a contradiction to ascribe
destruction to the universe which we leave as we find it,
and to promise themselves who live and die, unending existence!
For this reason they condemn creation, as if time did not
distinguish every corpse. This unending existence is
eternal life of bliss for them, the good; everlasting punish-
ment for all others, the wicked. What man do we attribute
to their god, not to fate. Then he is an unjust judge to
punish men for the lot which he has given them. Do they rise
again with bodies or without bodies? With what kind of bodies?
With the same or new ones? If without a body, there would
be no mind, no soul, no life. If with the same body, that
is long since decayed. If another body, a new man is born,
not the former restored. In all the length of time past,
in the countless centuries that have gone, what one person

has ever returned from the world below even for an hour that we might believe? These are inane imaginings, silly lines of poets, applied by simple fools to their god. Meantime his people suffer want; this god of theirs permits it, he does not care or cannot help his people. How weak or unjust he is! Why do not the miserable creatures who dream of life after death realize from their present suffering how frail they really are? How can their god help them after death, who cannot save them in life from tortures and crosses, crosses not to be worshiped, but borne? Are not the Romans, without any help from this god, masters of the earth and of his worshipers, too? And these men, meanwhile, deny themselves legitimate pleasures, shows, processions, and public banquets. They shrink from sacred rites, offerings of food and wine to the gods - so much do they fear the gods they deny. No garlands, no perfumes for them, no ointments save for the dead, no wreaths for the tomb. They are to be pitied even by our gods - not to live again, not even to enjoy life now.

If these unlearned, ignorant men want to be philosophers, let them imitate Socrates who answered those who questioned him about the heavenly bodies: "What is above us, concerns us nought." He was the wisest of men because he admitted that he knew nothing. After him came Arcesilaus, Carneades, and the multitude of the Academic

has ever returned from the world below again for an hour
I at we might believe. These are human feelings, ally
lines of power, united by simple tools of their god. Men-
line the people suffer want, the god of their promise is,
he does not care or cannot help his people. How weak or
injured he is! Why do not the miserable creatures who dream
of life after death realize from their present suffering
how frail they really are? How can their god help them
after death, who cannot save them in life from sorrow and
crosses, crosses not to be worshipped, but borne, the not
the Romans, without any help from this god, masters of the
earth and of his worshippers too? The cross man, miserable,
help themselves in their pleasure, know, possessions,
and public humiliations. They shrink from water, fire, elec-
tric or foot and other tortures - so much do they fear the
gods they serve. No miracles, no wonders for them, no
miracles save for the dead, no virtues for the dead. They
are to be feared even by our gods - not to live with, but
even to enjoy life now.

If these unholy, ignorant men want to be
philosophers, let them imitate Epicurus who answered those
who questioned him about the heavenly bodies: "What is
above us, concerning us nothing." It was the wisest of men
because he admitted that he knew nothing. After this came
Aristotle, Aristotle, and the multitude of the Academic

school who profess doubt. Simonides when questioned by the tyrant Hiero concerning the reality and character of the gods, asked for a day to consider the matter, then for two days, later for three. Finally when the tyrant inquired into the delay he received this reply: "The more the investigation is prolonged, the dimmer the truth becomes." Since doubt surrounds all these things in spite of the fact that many and great men have pondered them, it is presumptuous to form the opposite opinion, and thereby introduce old wives' tales and break down all the sanctions of religion.

(1)
(c) Transition

As Caecilius finished his speech, his face beamed, for expression had given outlet to his rising indignation. "And now what answer can Octavius make, this offspring of Plautus, the best of bakers, and the worst of philosophers?" Minucius reminded his friend that it was not becoming to praise the elegance of his own argument before both sides of the subject had been presented, especially since not praise but truth was the object of the discussion. Moreover, eloquence oftentimes simulates the truth until the hearers, charmed by words, are unable to separate truth from falsehood. As men deceived by those they trusted become suspicious of all men, those who find falsehood behind the mask of eloquence become distrustful of all logic.

school who profess doubt. Simonides when questioned by the
tyrant Alteo concerning the reality and character of the
gods, asked for a day to consider the matter, then for two
days, later for three. Finally when the tyrant insisted
into the delay he replied this reply: "The gods are in-
vestigation is prolonged, the Alteo the truth becomes."
Since doubt surrounds all these things in spite of the fact
that many and great men have professed them, it is presumptuous
to form the opposite opinion, and thereby introduce old
wives' tales and break down all the sanctities of religion.

(1)
(a) Transition

As Aristotle finished his speech, the king turned
for expression and given order to his rising indignation.
"And now what answer can Aristotle give, this offspring of
Hesione, the son of Hecuba, and the nurse of Polydorus?"
Mintius remained the friend that it was not becoming to
praise the eloquence of his own opponent before both sides of
the subject had been presented, especially since not only
his own was the object of the discussion. Moreover,
eloquence effectiveness the truth with the words,
ordered by words, are unable to separate truth from falsehood.
As he decided by those they created become suspicious of
all men, that the first falsehood behind the mask of eloquence
become distracted of all logic.

(1)

(d) Christian Argument

Octavius points out that Caecilius has changed his position: one time he states the existence of the gods, another he expresses doubt. Octavius then goes on to consider each point brought up by his opponent.

Reason and wisdom are native capacities of all mankind without respect of age, sex or rank. It is not the prestige of the speaker but the truth of his utterance that should be the criterion of judgment. Truly, man should know himself, but the universe is so closely bound together and interlocked that knowledge of humanity is not possible without a clear conception of divinity. When man looks to heaven above him, searches the earth beneath and about him, he cannot but see that in all this is some divinity of surpassing intelligence by which nature is sustained and guided - no chance union of atoms. The orderly course of nature, the adaptation of animal forms, the perfection of the human body, betoken a provident god as creator, who must be greater than all his creations. That this universe is wielded by one and one alone, witness the kingdoms of the world. No dual rule has proved successful. In nature, too, one queen of the bees, one bull of the herd. In heaven, could one divide this supreme power and majesty, this parent of all who has neither beginning nor end, who existed before the world was, who by his word made the universe, regulated and

Occasional points out that Occasionalism has changed

its position: one time he denied the existence of the world,

another he expressed doubt. Occasionalism then goes on to

consider each point brought up by his opponent.

Reason and wisdom are active principles of all

existing without respect of age, sex or rank. It is not the

possibility of the speaker but the truth of his utterance that

should be the criterion of judgment. Truth, then should

know himself, but the universe is so closely bound together

and interlocked that knowledge of himself is not possible

without a clear conception of himself. Then man looks to

reason above him, searches the earth beneath and above him,

he cannot but see that in all this is some diversity of some-

thing, intelligence by which nature is sustained and ruled -

no chance union of atoms. The orderly course of nature,

the adaptation of animal forms, the perfection of the human

body, demand a provident God as creator, who must be greater

than all his creatures. That this universe is watched by one

and one alone, witness the motions of the sun, the moon, the stars,

into the world, the seasons, the day, the night, the growth of

the trees, the birth of the birds, the growth of the plants and

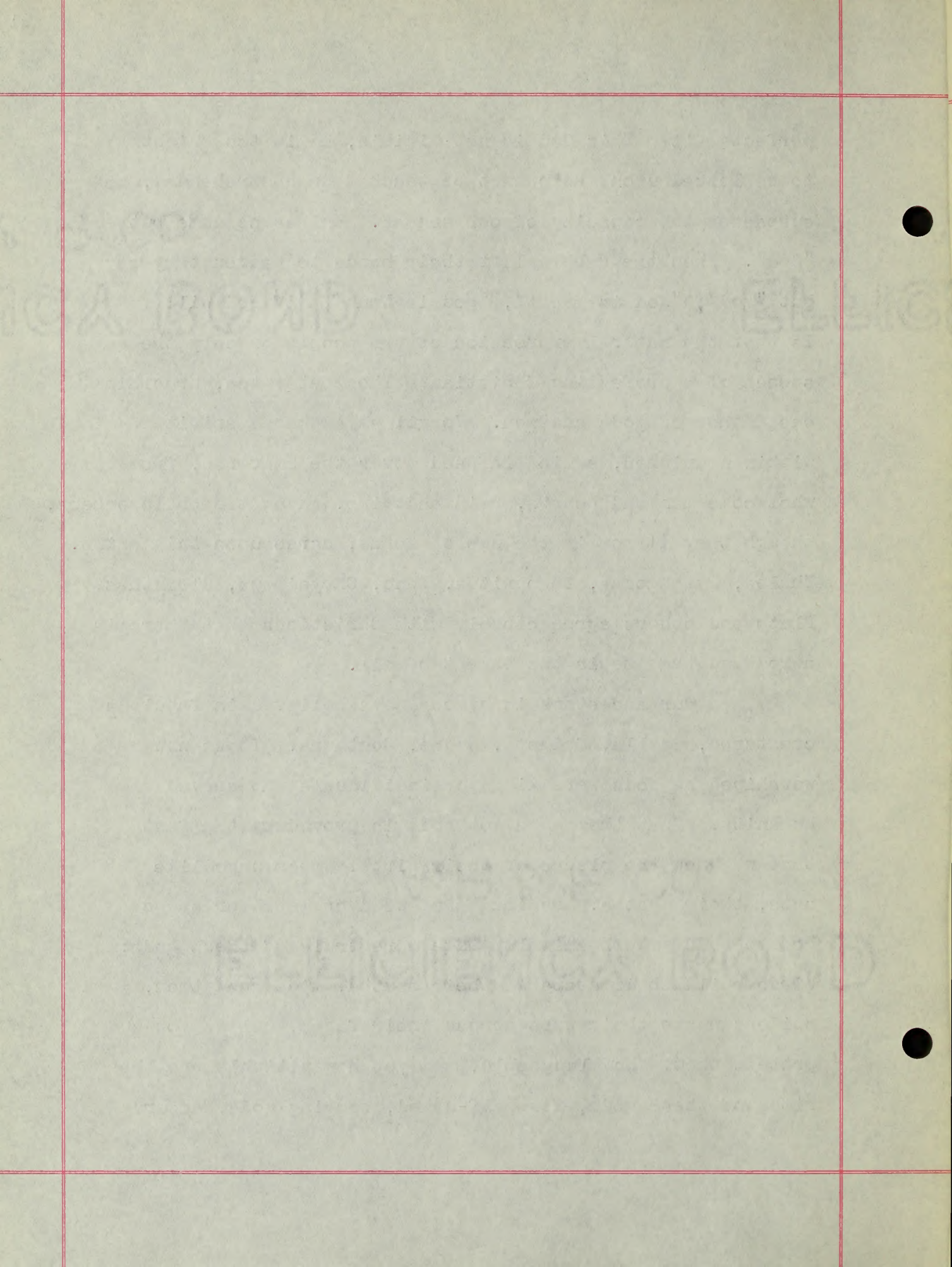
living that require power and wisdom, the extent of all who

are neither beginning nor end, who existed before the world

was, who by his word made the universe, sustained and

perfected it? This God is not visible, he is too bright to be looked upon; he cannot be touched or comprehended, he surpasses the capacity of our senses. He has no name but "God". When the rabble lift their hands to heaven they say but "god"; "god is great", "god is true", "if god will". Is that the natural expression of the people or only the speech of a professing Christian? The poets, too, proclaim one father of gods and men. Vergil says that a spirit within nourishes, a mind infused moves the universe, from whom come man and beasts, rain and fire. Even the philosophers, though they differ in the use of terms, agree upon this point. Thales, Pythagoras, Democritus, Zeno, Chrysippus, Cleanthes, Plato and others agree closely with Christians that there is a god and that he is the parent of all.

Our ancestors in bygone days believed in fabulous creatures, Scylla, Chimera, Hydra, Centaurs. Those now worshiped as gods were kings or individuals who served humanity. That they were not gods is proved by the fact that we know the places of their birth, their ungodlike acts, their deaths. Do images of wood or metal or stone become gods? Dumb animals judge more truly of these gods: birds build their nests in their mouths, mice gnaw them, spiders weave their webs across their faces, unless you protect them. How laughable, and yet how pitiable are the rites of these gods, men half-naked, begging gods, absurd



repetitions of mysteries! What defects there are in the fabled deities: limping Vulcan, beardless Apollo, his full-bearded son Aesculapius, hooved Pan and shackled Saturn! The religious devotion of Rome gave her this empire? What piety there was at the cradle of this nation - a gang of criminals led by one who committed fratricide, violent seizure of women for wives, war with fathers-in-law, shedding of kin's blood! Even now Rome follows the example of her founder and subsequent leaders in seizing the land of her neighbors, destruction of adjoining states with their temples and altars, taking of captives, confiscation of property. Whatever Rome now holds is the booty of conquest; its temples are filled with the spoil of cities, gods, and slaughtered priests. It is not religion but unpunished sacrilege that has made Rome great. What can gods who availed not to the protection of their own people do for Rome? And the native gods of Rome, Romulus, Picus, Cloacina, Fear, Fever, Acca and Flora, forsooth, extended the Roman power against the gods of those nations! Or did Mars of Thrace, Jupiter of Crete, Juno of Samo and Carthage, and the monsters of Egypt fight against their own people? Or are Roman maidens more chaste, or priests more virtuous? Often are shrines the center of passion and lust. Long, by the dispensation of God, did the Assyrians, Medes,

conversion, believing that Christians committed these offenses charged against them, and did not realize that these

revelations of mysteries! What secrets there are in the
fabled stories: Iliad, Trojan, Persian, Arabian, and
Till-Beard and Ascalaphus, rooted far and abroad! But
The religious devotion of Rome gave her this empire. What
glory there was in the temple of this nation - a glory of
crimes led by one who committed fratricide, violence
against women for wives, war with fathers-in-law, shedding
of his blood! Even now Rome follows the example of her
founder and subsequent leaders in eating the flesh of her
neighbors, destruction of adjoining states with their
temples and altars, taking of captives, confiscation of
property. Whatever Rome now holds is the booty of conquest;
its temples are filled with the spoil of cities, gods, and
slaughtered priests. It is not religion but unbridled
ambition that has made Rome great. What can gods who
averted not to the protection of their own people do for
Rome? And the native gods of Rome, Romanus, Picus, Cloacina,
Festus, Ficus, Aesculapius, Fortuna, extended the Roman
power against the gods of those nations! On the Nile of
Thebes, Jupiter of Egypt, Juno of Samos and Carthage, and
the goddesses of Egypt fought against their own people. On
the Roman fields were fought, on the Roman altars were
often and shines the center of passion and love. Long
by the disputation of God, did the Assyrians, Medes,

Persians, even Greeks and Egyptians, rule over empires, without augurs, without Arval or Salian priesthoods, without Vestal virgins, without chickens to guide by their appetite. Though at times the predictions of auspices and auguries coincided with the outcome of events, yet Regulus, Mancinus and Paulus maintained the rites and were defeated. Caesar scorned auguries and auspices which forbade his sailing, and the more prosperously sailed and conquered. And yet sometimes auspices and augury did touch the truth. This is the result of the work of demons. They are untrue spirits alienated from God and striving to alienate others. Poets and philosophers, including Socrates, recognize their existence. These demons are the source of magic and oracular utterances; they control entrails and flights of birds; they cause suffering in man to compel worship that, when sated by the fat of offerings, they may seem to have cared for the individual by lessening the pain they have caused. They admit they are demons and when adjured by the one true God are forced to leave the human body against their will. They seize and inspire fear in the minds of men that men should fear and hate the Christians before they have opportunity to know them.

It is unfair to judge without information or investigation. We were blind like others before our conversion, believing that Christians committed these offences charged against them, and did not realize that these

For instance, even Greeks and Egyptians, who over centuries
without argument, without trial or trial proceedings, without
vestal virgins, without chickens to guide by their appetite.
Though at times the predictions of augurers and augurers
coincided with the outcome of events, yet Romans, Macedonians
and Persians maintained the rites and were defeated. Caesar
scorned augurers and augurers which forbade his sailing,
and the more prosperously sailed and conquered. And yet
sometimes augurers and augury did touch the truth. This is
the result of the work of demons. They are untrue against
alliated from God and striving to alliate others. Poets
and philosophers, including Zoroaster, recognize their
existence. These demons are the source of magic and oracular
utterances; they control animals and flights of birds;
they cause suffering in men to normal worship that, when
caused by the fear of offerings, they may seem to have caused
for the individual by trespassing the pain they have caused.
They admit they are demons and when advised by the one true
God are forced to leave the human body against their will.
They raise and inspire fear in the minds of men that men
should fear and hate the Christians before they have op-
portunity to know them.
It is unfair to judge without information or
investigation. We were blind like others before our
conversion, believing that Christians committed these
offences charged against them, and did not realize that these

accusations were always given circulation but not investigated nor proved, and that no one, although he might gain not only freedom but favor, ever made any betrayal, his only shame that he had not been a Christian before. We, too, judged that, though sacrilege, unchastity and parricide should be defended, these Christians should not be heard at all; we even cruelly tortured them to compel a denial, not to discover the truth but to force a lie, as if by a denial of that name, all former misdeeds were cleared of guilt. Demons have spread abroad lies about the Christians to conceal the truth. Who is such a fool as to worship the head of an ass, unless yourselves who consecrate whole asses to your Epona and deify men with heads of goats and features of lions and dogs? Do not Romans worship the bull Apis as well as the Egyptians? As for the charges of shameful things which are alleged to be practised by the Christians - it is not even permitted them to listen to such things, nor could they be conceived were they not practised by those who make the accusation. As to the worship of a criminal and his cross, you are far from the truth who think that the guilty deserved to be, or the earthly could be, held as god. How wretched is he whose only hope lies in mortal man! The Egyptians, indeed, do choose a man to be worshiped, consulted, honored by sacrifices. But though a god to others, surely a man does he seem to himself. Kings are

accusations were always given circulation but not investigated
nor proved, and that no one, although he might gain not
only freedom but favor, ever made any betrayal. His only
shame that he had not been a Christian before. We, too,
judged that, though sacrifice, unchastity and perjury
should be defended, these Christians should not be heard
at all; we even cruelly tortured them to compel a denial,
not to discover the truth but to force a lie, as it by a
denial of that name, all former misdeeds were cleared of
guilt. Persons have spread abroad lies about the Christians
to conceal the truth. Who is such a fool as to worship the
head of an ass, unless yourselves who conspire whole
asses to your bones and daily men with heads of goats and
features of lions and dogs? Do not Romans worship the bull
Apis as well as the Egyptians? As for the charges of shame-
ful things which are alleged to be practised by the Christians
it is not even permitted them to listen to such things, nor
could they be conceived were they not untaught by those
who make the accusation. As to the worship of a criminal
and his cross, you are far from the truth who think that
the guilty deserved to be, or the earthly could be, held
as god. How wretched is he whose only hope lies in mortal
men! The Egyptians, indeed, do choose a man to be worshipped,
consulted, honored by sacrifices. But though a god to
others, surely a man does he deem to himself. Kings are

flattered by worship as to a god and it is safer to perjure oneself by Jupiter than by the genius of the king. We do not worship nor wish for crosses. But you worship wooden gods, perchance part of a cross. What are camp standards if not gilded crosses? Trophies of victory, the masts of a ship, a man with arms outstretched in prayer are natural signs of the cross. Can you imagine it possible that the tiny tender body of an infant should be sacrificed in initiation? No one could believe it unless he were capable of the deed. But your newly-born sons are at times exposed to wild beasts following the practice of your gods: Saturn did not expose his sons but devoured them. Rightly then did people in some parts of Africa sacrifice to him their children, smothering their wails with kisses lest a weeping offering be devoted. In Gaul, in Rome, men have been slain as offerings; even now to Jupiter Lariaris is a victim slain. But for us it is right neither to see nor hear of human slaughter; we avoid not only human blood but refrain from the blood of animals in food. The story of incestuous banqueting is a device of demons to spatter the purity we glory in, that men may be shocked and turn away before the truth can be known. Rather, this springs from your own people; among the Persians, Egyptians, Athenians, such acts are legal, you read and hear tales and tragedies, you even worship gods who practise such relations, and unwittingly

best sacrifices. Among us the most religious is the most

flattered by worship as to a god and it is safer to perjure
oneself by Jupiter than by the genius of the king. We do
not worship nor wish for crosses. But you worship wooden
gods, perforce part of a cross. What are your standards
if not gilded crosses? Trophies of victory, the masks of a
ship, a man with arms outstretched in prayer and natural
signs of the cross. Can you imagine it possible that the
tiny tender body of an infant should be sacrificed in initia-
tion? No one could believe it unless he were capable of the
deed. But your newly-born sons are at times exposed to wild
beasts following the practice of your gods: Saturn did not
expose his sons but devoured them. Rightly then did people
in some parts of Africa sacrifice to him their children,
smothering their walls with kisses and a weeping offering
be devoted. In Gaul, in Rome, men have been slain as
offerings; even now to Jupiter Latiaris is a victim slain.
But for us it is right neither to see nor hear of human
slaughter; we avoid not only human blood but refrain from
the blood of animals in food. The story of incestuous
bandaging is a device of demons to scatter the purity we
glory in, that men may be shocked and turn away before the
truth can be known. Rather, this springs from your own
people; among the Persians, Egyptians, Athenians, such acts
are legal, you read and hear tales and tragedies, you even
worship gods who practise such relations, and unwittingly

commit these crimes yourselves because you know not the children you have exposed or have begotten unlawfully. But our purity lies not only in deed but in mind. We keep to one marriage bond, and some blush at even that. Our feasts are both modest and sober, in food, in thought, and in deed. Nor yet do we belong to the lowest caste of society because we refuse your honorable offices and your scarlet robes. We are not divisive, nor prattlers in secret, because we are one of mind for good in quiet gatherings. That we increase in number from day to day is not evidence of crime but proof of worth, for each one who has experienced it delights in this beautiful life and attracts others. We recognize one another not by a mark on the body but by the seal of innocence and modesty. We do love one another; we know not how to hate. We call each other brothers as children of one parent, God.

Do you think we conceal what we worship because we have no shrines and altars? In what image am I to conceive God if man himself is the image of God? What temple am I to build if the whole world which he has made cannot contain him? Are not the mind and heart a fitter shrine? Am I to offer victims to God, to cast back at him what he has given me to use? He who strives for innocence prays to God, who practises justice offers a libation to God, who rescues a man from danger, offers the best sacrifice. Among us the most religious is the most

commit these crimes yourselves because you know not the
children you have exposed or have received unlawfully. But
our purity lies not only in deed but in mind. We keep to
one marriage bond, and some blush at even that. Our fasts
are both modest and sober, in food, in thought, and in deed.
Not yet do we belong to the lowest caste of society because
we refuse your honorable offices and your accepted robes.
We are not divisive, nor practitioners in secret, because we
are one of mind for good in quiet gatherings. That we
increase in number from day to day is not evidence of crime
but proof of worth. For each one who has experienced it
sheds in calm beautiful life and attracts others. We
recognize one another not by a mark on the body but by the
heart of innocence and modesty. We do love one another; we
know not how to hate. We call each other brothers as
children of one parent, God.

Do you think we conceal what we worship because
we have no shrines and altars? In what house am I to
conceive God if man himself is the image of God? What
temple am I to build if the whole world which he has made
cannot contain him? Are not the mind and heart a fitter
shrine? Am I to offer victims to God, to cast back at
him what he has given me to use? He who survives for
innocency prays to God, who practices justice offers a
libation to God, who rescues a man from danger, offers the
best sacrifices. Among us the most religious is the most

just. We cannot see or show the God we adore; for this very reason we believe him God, since we feel his presence in his works and the operation of nature. You cannot see the wind, but you know its work. You cannot gaze into the sun. How could you look upon the one who made that sun and is the source of light? Nor can you see your own soul, the source of life and speech. You say God cannot know what man does and cannot visit all. God is not far away. All things are full of him. He is not merely near us but within. As the sun shines on all and nowhere is its brightness dimmed, so God, the maker and watcher of all, can be kept out by no darkness, no, not the darkness of our thoughts. We seem many to ourselves but we are few to God. Kings keep informed of their kingdom through messengers; God has no need of spies. We live not merely as in his sight but in his bosom. The worship of one God did not save the Jews? Do not forget their former history. As long as they worshipped him sincerely and in holiness, from few they became many; from poor, rich; from slaves, kings; unarmed, by the aid of the elements, at the command of God they put many armed hosts to rout. Read their own writings - Josephus - or turn to Roman authors - Antonius Julianus - and you will find their misfortunes were foretold if they persisted in obstinacy. They deserted God, not God them.

Who doubts that the world will perish? All things

Just. We cannot see or show the God we adore; for this very reason we believe him God, since we feel his presence in his works and the operation of nature. You cannot see the wind, but you know its work. You cannot gaze into the sun. How could you look upon the one who made that sun and is the source of light? Nor can you see your own soul, the source of life and speech. You say God cannot know what man does and cannot visit all. God is not far away. All things are full of him. He is not merely near us but within. As the sun shines on all and nowhere is its brightness dimmed, so God, the maker and watcher of all, can be kept out by no darkness, no, not the darkness of our thoughts. We seem many to ourselves but we are few to God. Kings keep informed of their kingdom through messengers; God has no need of spies. We live not merely as in his sight but in his bosom. The worship of one God did not save the Jews? Do not forget their former history. As long as they worshipped him sincerely and in holiness, from few they became many; from poor, rich; from slaves, kings; unarmed, by the aid of the elements, at the command of God they put many armed hosts to rout. Read their own writings - Josephus - or turn to Roman authors - Antonius Julianus - and you will find their misfortunes were foretold if they persisted in obstinacy. They deserted God, not God them. Who doubts that the world will perish? All things

that have beginning have an end. The Stoics, the Epicureans, hold that the earth will perish when the moisture of the elements is consumed. Plato, though he believes the universe cannot be destroyed except by God, makes mention of alternate flood and fire in different parts of the world. The philosophers have built up a shadow of the truth from the divine revelations of the prophets. Pythagoras and Plato have handed down a half truth regarding resurrection, that when the body is dissolved, the spirit only survives, and that migrates into a new body. A further distortion of the truth appears in the idea that the souls of men pass into beast and bird. Since God has made man from nothing before birth, can he not remake him? It is more difficult to create something which is not than to repeat what has been. However the body may appear to our eyes to be annihilated, the elements are preserved to God. We do not fear any form of sepulture, but we prefer the old and better custom of burial. All nature gives us hope of resurrection: sun, stars, flowers, trees, seeds. The body, too, has its spring for which we wait. Many hope rather than believe that death ends all, for conscious of guilt they yearn for destruction rather than resurrection with punishment. As lightnings strike without consuming and the fires of volcanoes burn without exhausting, so avenging flames do not consume the body. Ignorance of God deserves punishment: it is no less

that have beginning have an end. The Stoics, the Epicureans,
hold that the earth will perish when the nature of the
elements is consumed. Plato, though he believes the
universe cannot be destroyed except by God, makes mention
of alternate flood and fire in different parts of the
world. The philosophers have built up a shadow of the
truth from the divine revelations of the prophets. Pythagoras
and Plato have handed down a half truth regarding resurrection
that when the body is dissolved, the spirit only survives,
and that migrates into a new body. A further distortion of
the truth appears in the idea that the souls of men pass into
beast and bird. Since God has made man from nothing before
birth, can he not remake him? It is more difficult to
create something which is not than to reveal what has been.
However the body may appear to our eyes to be annihilated,
the elements are preserved to God. We do not lose any form
of substance, but we transfer the old and better portion of
itself. All nature gives us hope of resurrection: sun,
stars, flowers, trees, seeds. The body, too, has its spring
for which we wait. Many hope rather than believe that death
ends all, for consolation of guilt they yearn for destruction
rather than resurrection with punishment. At lightning
strikes without consulting the fires of volcanoes burn
without exhausting, so avenging flames do not consume the
body. Ignorance of God deceives punishment: it is no loss

a crime to ignore the lord of all than to wrong him. Although many of us are your inferiors in the learning of the schools, we are your superiors because to knowledge we add a life of blamelessness. You make laws but do not obey them. Your prisons are full, but not one Christian is there except on the charge of his religion or a renegade. Nor should man excuse his lot on the ground of fate; the mind is free. Man's act and not his rank is judged. The fact that we are poor is not our shame but our glory. Who can be poor who lacks nothing and is rich in the sight of God? All is God's and we might ask a share of that wealth, but we prefer virtue to extravagance. Our suffering is not because God cannot or will not help, but that we might be tested and refined as gold. What a sight it is for God to see a Christian struggling with pain, smiling at death and torture, yielding to God alone as a soldier fighting under the eyes of his general! You extol Mucius Scaevola, Aquilius, and Regulus. Our children and women scorn with inspired patience crucifixion, torture and wild beasts. Wealth, power, and birth bring but fear and falling. Honor avails not if the mind is vile. We deem virtue our only distinction. So we abstain from evil pleasures, your processions and shows, the origin of which comes from your religious rites which we condemn as injurious. Our contempt for food and wine offered to the gods is not a confession of fear but a declaration of true liberty, for, although all things as the gift

a crime to ignore the fact of all this wrong doing. Although
many of us are your inferiors in the learning of the schools,
we are your superiors because we know the way to a life of
happiness. You make laws but do not obey them. Your
religion is false, but not one Christian is there except on
the charge of his religion or a renegade. Now should man
excuse his lot on the ground of false religion?
Man's lot and not his rank is judged. The fact that we are
poor is not our shame but our glory. Who can be poor who
lack nothing and is rich in the sight of God? All is God's
and we might ask a share of that wealth, but we prefer
virtue to extravagance. Our suffering is not because God
cannot or will not help, but that we might be tested and
refined as gold. What a sight it is for God to see a
Christian struggling with pain, willing to die and torture,
yielding to God alone as a soldier fighting under the eyes
of his general! You asked Martin Scavola, Aguilera, and
Regina. Our children and women scorn with inspired patience
crucifixion, torture and wild beasts. Wealth, power, and
riches bring but fear and falling. Honor avails not if the
sinner is vile. We deem virtue our only satisfaction. So we
abstain from evil pleasures, your pleasures and shows, the
origin of which comes from your religious rites which we
condemn as injurious. Our contempt for food and wine
offered to the gods is not a confession of fear but a declara-
tion of true liberty, for, although all things are the gift

of God are uncorruptible, we refrain from them lest we seem to lend sanction to your religion. Who doubts that we enjoy the flowers of spring? But we inhale their perfume through our nostrils, not through the hair on the back of our heads! We do not place wreaths upon the dead, we look for an unfading crown from God. Let Socrates, Arcesilaus, Carneades, Pyrrho and all the Academics argue on in doubt. We boast that we have found that which they sought with diligence but could not find. Let us enjoy our happiness and follow the path of right; let us curb superstition, let us purge impiety and preserve the true religion.

(1)

(e) Conclusion

After Octavius had completed his speech the three sat in silence for some little time. Minucius was lost in admiration at the skill his friend had used in marshalling arguments, illustrations, and quotations from authorities, and in employing the very arms of the philosophers against themselves - all this in a form which made truth attractive and easy to comprehend. Suddenly Caecilius broke out with congratulations to his opponent, and to himself, and claimed no verdict from the judge. Octavius had triumphed over him, and he over error. He admitted that he was convinced regarding providence and God, as well as the purity of the sect. As there were still other points necessary for a perfect understanding, he suggested further discussion the next day,

of God are uncorruptible, we refrain from the fact we seem to find sanction to your religion. Who doubts that we enjoy the flowers of earth? But we inhale their perfume through our nostrils, not through the hair on the back of our heads! We do not place wreaths upon the dead, we look for an unfading crown from God. Let Socrates, Aristotles, Carneades, Pyrrho and all the Academicks argue on in doubt. We boast that we have found that which they sought with diligence but could not find. Let us enjoy our happiness and follow the path of right; let us curb superstition, let us purge impiety and preserve the true religion.

(1) (a) Conclusion

After Octavius had completed his speech the three sat in silence for some little time. Minucius was lost in admiration at the skill his friend had used in marshalling arguments, illustrations, and quotations from authorities, and in employing the very arms of the philosophers against themselves - all this in a form which made truth attractive and easy to comprehend. Suddenly Cassilius broke out with congratulations to his opponent, and to himself, and claimed no verdict from the judge. Octavius had triumphed over him, and he over error. He admitted that he was convinced regarding providence and God, as well as the guilt of the sect. As there were still other points necessary for a perfect understanding, he suggested further discussion the next day.

for the sun was then on the downward slope. All three started homeward in joy; Caecilius because he believed; Octavius because he had won; Minucius because of the conversion of the one and the victory of the other.

CHARACTERS

As has been already indicated, the characters of the dialogue are three: Marcus Minucius Felix, the author, who gives himself only the role of judge, and that without a decision; Caecilius Natalis, heathen defender of the pagan religion, who is convinced of the truth by his opponent; Octavius Januarius, for whom the book is named, champion of the Christian faith, whose arguments are so effective that his antagonist is converted. Whether the two opponents are real or fictitious is a question impossible of proof. There is nothing in the dialogue in any way contrary to the assumption of actual personalities, and the affectionate manner in which Minucius speaks of his dead friend seems to show an actual experience. However, as the dialogue, if founded on fact, took place some time before the writing, not only the expressions, but the ideas and form are, in all probability, largely the product of the mind of Minucius rather than of the characters.

for the sun was then on the downward slope. All three started
homeward in joy; Cassilius because he believed; Octavius
because he had won; Minucius because of the conversion of
the one and the victory of the other.

CHARACTERS

As has been already indicated, the characters of
the dialogue are three: Marcus Minucius Felix, the author,
who gives himself only the role of judge, and that without
a decision; Cassilius Natalis, heathen defender of the
pagan religion, who is convinced of the truth by his opponent;
Octavius Iunianus, for whom the book is named, champion of
the Christian faith, whose arguments are so effective that
his antagonist is converted. Whether the two opponents are
real or fictitious is a question impossible to prove. There
is nothing in the dialogue in any way contrary to the as-
sumption of actual personalities, and the attention
in which Minucius speaks of his dear friend seems to
show an actual experience. However, as the dialogue, if
founded on fact, took place some time before the writing,
not only the expressions, but the ideas and form are, in all
probability, largely the product of the mind of Minucius
rather than of the characters.

(a) Caecilius

Caecilius Natalis, as he is drawn by Minucius, appears to be an upright, sincere man. Octavius says of him, "procul est ab eius simplicitate subtilis urbanitas"(16.2). That he was a close friend, perhaps a client, of Minucius is shown by his presence with these two intimate friends, Octavius and Minucius, and by Octavius' rebuke to Minucius for Caecilius' paganism: "non boni viri est, Marce frater, hominem domi forisque lateri tuo inhaerentem sic in hac imperitiae vulgaris caecitate deserere...cum scias huius erroris non minorem ad te quam ad ipsum infamiam redundare."(3.1) One quality of his affability is revealed in Minucius' question: "cur non agnosco, Caecili, alacritatem tuam illam et illam oculorum etiam in seriis hilaritatem requiro?" (4.2) He is loyal to his pagan belief: "Iam dudum me Octavi nostri acriter angit et remordet oratio"(4.3), and uses all his ability to defend it. The viewpoint of the Academic is taken in his defense: "omnia in rebus humanis dubia, incerta, suspensa magisque omnia vensimilia quam vera." (5.2), but in practice he conforms to the worship of the superstitious: "Caecilius simulacro Serapidis denotato...manum ori admovens osculum labiis pressit." (2.4) Honesty and frankness move him to admit his error and accept as his own the new religion when he finds his arguments are false: "Ego triumphator erroris...de providentia fateor et de deo cedo et de sectae

(a) Cassius

Cassius, as he is known by Minnie,

appears to be an upright, sincere man. Octavius says of

him, "proud as an eagle and as simple as a child" (1.2).

That he was a close friend, perhaps a friend, of Minnie

is shown by his presence with these two intimate friends,

Octavius and Minnie, and by Octavius' remark to Minnie

for Cassius' sake: "non domi viri est, Marco Trever,

hominem domi forisque facit et in hoc

imperio viris casibus digne... cum casibus

erroris non minor ad te quam ad ipsum infirmum reducere." (5.1)

One quality of his nobility is revealed in Minnie's

question: "but how canst thou, Cassius, Alaric's son, follow

at this hour of day in such a lowly station?" (4.2)

He is loyal to his pagan belief: "I am bound to Octavius as to

another eagle of Rome" (4.3), and uses all his

ability to defend it. The viewpoint of the Academic is

taken in his defense: "omnia in rebus humana dubia, incerta,

suspensa magis omnia veritatis quam vera." (5.2), but

in practice he conforms to the worship of the superstitions:

"Cassius Alaric's son, Alaric's son, and Alaric's son

and Alaric's son." (5.4) Honesty and frankness move

him to admit his error and accept as his own the new religion

when he finds his arguments are false: "Ego triumphator

erroris... de providentia facti et de deo et de rebus

iam nostrae sinceritate consentio." (40.1-2) Caecilius represents the cultured pagan opposition to Christianity which saw in Christianity a rival for the control of the minds of men which it deemed its special prerogative. When it realized that this control was passing into the hands of obscure teachers without authority or even learning, the fear arose "ne aut anilis inducatur superstitio aut omnis religio destruat." (13.5)

Although it is clear from the book itself that Caecilius had been at Rome for some time at least, general opinion agrees with the probability of his African origin. Caecilius speaks of Fronto as "Cirtensis noster" (9.6) and Octavius as "tuus Fronto" (31.2), which may indicate that (1) Caecilius was a native of Cirta, a town in Numidia, or it may mean nothing more than unity of belief. At Cirta six inscriptions have been found containing the name of Caecilius Natalis. (2) These show that a certain Caecilius Natalis was a chief magistrate from 210-215 A. D. in this town and after five years of office erected a triumphal arch at his own expense in honor of Caracalla and brazen statues to "Indulgentia domini nostri", gave "ludi scenici" for seven days and other evidences of munificence. This Caecilius cannot be proved to be the same as the one in "Octavius"; if he is, this office must have been held before his conversion. The Caecilius of the "Octavius" has also been tentatively

(1) Now Constantine in Algeria.

(2) Mommsen. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Vol. VIII, part I, #6996, 7094-7098.

law nostraris sinceritate consensio." (40.1-2) Gascellius represents the cultured pagan opposition to Christianity which saw in Christianity a rival for the control of the minds of men which it deemed its special prerogative. When it realized that this control was passing into the hands of obscure teachers without authority or even learning, the fear arose "ne autem illis industriae superstitio aut omnia religio destrueretur." (13.2)

Although it is clear from the book itself that Gascellius had been at Rome for some time at least, general opinion agrees with the probability of his African origin. Gascellius speaks of Fronto as "Cirtensis noster" (9.6) and Octavius as "Cirta Fronto" (31.2), which may indicate that Gascellius was a native of Cirta, a town in Numidia, or it may mean nothing more than unity of belief. At Cirta six inscriptions have been found containing the name of Gascellius Natalis. (2) These show that a certain Gascellius Natalis was a chief magistrate from 210-212 A. D. in this town and after five years of office erected a triumphal arch at his own expense in honor of Gascellia and placed statues to "Indulgencia domini nostri", gave "Indulgentia" for seven days and other evidences of munificence. This Gascellius cannot be proved to be the same as the one in "Octavius"; if he is, this office must have been held before his conversion. The Gascellius of the "Octavius" has also been tentatively

(1)
identified with the Caecilius, presbyter in Africa who brought Cyprian to the Christian belief, for which reason (2)
Cyprian is said to have taken his cognomen Caecilius.

(b) Octavius

Octavius Januarius was bound to Minucius by the closest ties of friendship. The latter speaks of him as: "bonus et fidelissimus contubernalis" (1.1), "vir eximius et sanctus" (1.3), "amicissimus homo" (2.2); expresses his own love: "mihi... tanta dulcedo et adfectio hominis inhaesit" (1.1), "immensum sui desiderium nobis reliquit" (1.3); and records their union in these words: "...utpote cum et ipse tanto nostri semper amore flagraverit, ut et in ludicris et seriis pari mecum voluntate concineret eadem velle vel nolle: crederes unam mentem in duobus fuisse divisam" (1.3). This companionship, cemented in youthful days when both were pagans was not broken by the conversion of Minucius; rather Octavius preceded him into that faith: "Sic solus in amoribus conscius, ipse socius in erroribus; et cum discussa caligine de tenebrarum profundo in lucem sapientiae et veritatis emergerem, non respuit comitem, sed quod est gloriosius, praecucurrit." (1.4) At the time of the dialogue he was married and had young children "relicta domo, coniuge,

(1) Le Nourry. "Disertatio in Marci Minucii Felicis Librum qui Octavius inscribitur." Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Vol. III, col. 384.

(2) Ceillier (op.cit. note p. 550) thinks this may explain Cyprian's use of the work of Minucius Felix.

(3) May, however, be construed as subjective genitive.

(1) identified with the Gascilla, presbyter in Africa who
 brought Cyrian to the Christian belief. For which reason
 (2) Cyrian is said to have taken his cognomen Gascilla.

(3) Octavius

Octavius Tannarius was bound to Minucius by the
 closest ties of friendship. The latter speaks of him as:
 "bonus et fidelissimus confidens" (1.1), "vir eximius
 et sanctus" (1.3), "emissarius homo" (2.2); expresses his
 own love: "amici... tanta dulcedo et affectu hominis inhaerere"
 (1.1), "immensus amor desiderium nobis reliquit" (1.3); and
 records their union in these words: "...subito cum et ipse
 tanto mentis ardore amore flagravisset, ut et in indicio et
 scriba carum meum voluntate consideraret eadem velle vel nolles
 crederes unum mentem in duobus fuisse divisa" (2.3). This
 companionship, cemented in youthful days when both were
 pagans was not broken by the conversion of Minucius; rather
 Octavius preceded him into that faith: "Sic solus in
 amoribus coniunctus, ipse socius in erroribus, et cum discipulis
 calamine de reprobis profecto in lucem agens et
 vorticulis emergens, non respectu coelestem, sed quod est
 gloriosius, transcurrit." (1.4) At the time of the dialogue
 he was married and had young children "relicta domo, coniuge,

(1) Le Mouney. "Dissertation in Minucii Felicis Liberum
 et Octavii Tannarii." Paris: Goussier, 1884.
 Vol. III, col. 384.

(2) Gellius (no. 11, note p. 250) thinks this may explain
 Cyrian's use of the word of Minucius Felix.
 (3) May, however, be construed as subjective genitive.

liberis et...adhuc annis innocentibus et adhuc dimidiata verba temptantibus"(2.1). His home was in one of the overseas provinces (conjectured to have been Africa) as his trip to Rome and the mention of sailing indicate: "nam negotii et visendi mei gratia Romam contenderat" (2.1), "haec fabulae erant Octavi disserentis de navigatione narratio"(3.4). His piety and ardor for his religion are manifest in his rebuke of Minucius for the heathen belief and acts of Caecilius, and his defense of Christianity. That he was, or had been, a lawyer is evident from the form of the proof in debate ⁽¹⁾ and by the use of the first person in "nos tamen cum sacrilegos aliquos et incestos, parricidas etiam defendendos et tuendos suscipiebamus, hos nec audiendos in totum putabamus".(28.3) The persecution of the Christians expressed in, "nonnumquam etiam miserantes eorum crudelius ~~ae~~viebamus, ut torqueremus confitentes ad negandum, videlicet ne perirent, exercentes in his perversam quaestionem, non quae verum erueret, sed quae mendacium cogeret. Et si qui infirmior malo pressus et victus Christianum se negasset, favebamus ei, quasi eierato nomine iam omnia facta sua illa negatione purgaret"(28.3-4) may imply that he had authority as a magistrate. I have not discovered that anyone has considered that the reading "pistorum praecipuus" (14.1) should be taken literally. Indeed, G. F. Stieber has emended this to "Christianorum praecipuus". ⁽²⁾ At the time when the dialogue was written

(1) If, however, the debate is the work of Minucius rather than the actual speech of Octavius, this has little weight.

(2) See note 1, page 7.

Liberia et... Africae et Africae
 verba continentia" (2.1). His home was in one of the
 overseas provinces (conjectured to have been Africa) as his
 trip to Rome and the mention of sailing indicated: "nam
 negotii et vitandi mei gratia Romanam contulerat" (2.1), "hanc
 fabulam etiam Octavius dissimulans de navigatione narravit" (2.4).
 His story and error for his religion are manifest in his
 rebuke of Minucius for the heathen belief and role of Gaius
 and his defense of Christianity. That he was, or had been,
 a lawyer is evident from the form of the proof in debate and
 by the use of the first person in "non tam non negligas
 aliquos et innoxios, caritatis etiam defensores et coeque
 sociosque, non nec audientes in totum putamus" (2.3).
 The persecution of the Christians expressed in "persecutionem
 etiam amentes solum crudeliter assidue, ut persequerentur
 confiteri et regnum, videlicet, ne certum, experient
 in his persequas passionem, non quia verum esset, sed
 quia mendacium esset. Et si per infirmos vero progress
 et victus Christianum ne negasset, favorem et, quia etiam
 nomine iam omnia facta et illa negotia putaret" (2.3-4).
 very firmly that he had authority as a magistrate. I have
 not discovered that anyone has considered that the meaning
 "distans praesentibus" (1.1.1) should be taken literally.
 Indeed, G. F. Steiner has amended this to "Christianorum"
 (2). At the time when the discourse was written
 praesentibus".

(1) If, however, the debate in the work of Minucius rather
 than the actual speech of Octavius, this has little
 weight.
 (2) See note 1, page 7.

by Minucius, Octavius was dead, "discedens"(1.3).

In Cyprian's time there were two outstanding bishops,
(1)
one Natalis, the other Januarius. Identity of the latter
with Octavius Januarius is exceedingly hypothetical.

STYLE

The style is largely periodic but is not as full
or as balanced as Cicero's. This form is varied by the
brevity of Seneca, and by an almost absurd antithesis at
times, such as, "ut id colant quod merentur"(9.4). The
introduction is elegantly and feelingly, almost affectedly,
written. With greater regard than contemporary works for
rules of syntax, this book incorporates idioms of the late
Silver Age and words which appear for the first time.

(2)
Monceaux mentions as illustrations of the latter, "notaculum"
(31.8), "litabilis" (32.2), "concatenata" (17.2, "inrotare"(3.6).
Among unusual idioms the following are given: of the
infinitive, "ut...concineret eadem velle vel nolle" (1.3),
"nata sint prospicere" (17.2), "vel quae sunt non videre"(26.10);
of "de", "de marinis lavacris curatio"(2.3), "specta de
libris memoriam" (7.2), "de oraculo testimonium meruit" (13.2);
of abstract terms in the plural, "iaculationibus" (3.5),
"infirmiratibus" (36.8). Characteristics common with the
African writers, Tertullian, Fronto and Apuleius, in the
second and third century include: adjectives in neuter

(1) Le Nourry. op. cit. col. 385.

(2) Histoire Littéraire de L'Afrique Chrétienne, Vol. I, pp.
505-506.

second and third century includes: subjects in center

African writers, Tertullian, Eusebius and Augustine. In the

"Introduction" (36.8). Characteristic common with the

of abstract terms in the phrase, "l'incertitude" (3.5).

"l'incertitude" (7.2), "de oratione testimonium verum" (15.2);

of "de", "de veritate iustitiae curatio" (2.5), "specula de

"nata sunt ecclesiae" (17.5), "vel dicitur non videretur" (26.10);

initiative, "ut...coram meo eadem velle vel nolite" (1.5).

Among unusual idioms the following are given: at the

(31.8), "l'incertitude" (17.5), "consecratio" (17.5), "invocatio" (3.8).

Nonetheless mentions an illustration of the latter, "notandum"

(2)

Silver Age and words which appear for the first time.

rules of syntax. This book incorporates idioms of the late

written. With greater regard than contemporary works for

introduction is elegantly and feelingly, almost affectively,

times, such as, "ut ad colant quod reverentur" (9.4). The

prevalence of Seneca, and by an almost absolute aesthetic at

or as balanced as Cicero's. This form is varied by the

The style is largely periodic but is not as full

STYLE

with Octavianus Irenaeus is exceedingly hypothetical.

one Nabalus, the other Irenaeus. Identity of the latter

(1)

In Irenaeus's time there were two outstanding bishops

by Minucius, Octavianus was dead, "disappeared" (1.5).

followed by a modifying noun, "de tenebrarum profundo"(1.4), "recta montium, collium flexa, porrecta camporum"(17.10); redundancy (which the Africans abused with unbelievable regularity), two synonyms, one in the genitive, "execrationis horrorem" (28.6), "inritae pollicitationis cassa vota"(12.1); piling up of words, "aegre se ferre, stomachari, indignari, dolere...inlitteratos, pauperes, imperitos...plebeios, indoctos, seminudos" (16.5); synonyms arranged two by two, "pars vestrum et maior, melior...egetis algetis, opere fame laboratis, et deus patitur dissimulat, non vult aut non potest opitulari suis; ita aut invalidus aut iniquus est" (12.2); three by three, "membra coalita, digesta, formata" (5.7), "omne quod nascitur, inspiratur, attollitur... omne dividitur, solvitur, dissipatur" (5.8), "per quietem deos videmus, audimus, agnoscimus, quos impie per diem negamus, nolumus, peieramus" (7.6). Sallust, Roman governor of Numidia in 45 B. C., shows resemblances in some of these same peculiarities. In spite of similarity with the African school some think the style shows training in the school of Suetonius and Aulus Gellius, because it has none of the antiquarianism and forced "eclat" so characteristic of the African style. No one denies the influence of Cicero and our author shares with Lactantius the honor of being called "the Christian Cicero."

(1) Cruttwell. A Literary History of Early Christianity, Vol. II, p. 616.

followed by a modifying noun, "de tenebris profundis" (1.4),
 "res montis, collum flexa, portus camporum" (17.10);
 redundancy (which the Africans abused with unbelievable
 regularity), two synonyms, one in the genitive, "exsecrationis
 horrorem" (28.6), "initis pollicitationis casus vult" (12.1);
 piling up of words, "caere ac ferre, stomachum, indignum,
 dolere... inflicto, pauperes, imperio... phobos,
 indoles, semidos" (16.5); synonyms arranged two by two,
 "pars vestrum et minor, maior... agilis alacris, opore
 tam laboratis, et datus vultus dissimulat, non vult aut
 non potest occultari vult; ita aut invadit aut indigne
 est" (12.2); three by three, "numera coactis, digestis,
 formata" (5.7), "omne quod nascitur, inspiratur, extollitur...
 omne dividitur, solvitur, dissipatur" (5.2), "ex quietem
 deos videmus, aditus, agnoscentes, quos igitur per diem
 negamus, noxam, perimus" (7.6). Salust, Roman Governor
 of Numidia in 45 B. C., shows resemblances in some of these
 same peculiarities. In spite of similarity with the African
 school some think the style shows training in the school
 of Sallust and Aulus Gellius, because it has none of the
 antiquarianism and forced "celat" so characteristic of the
 African style. No one denies the influence of Cicero and
 our author shares with Tacitus the honor of being called
 "the Quintilian Cicero."

IV

THE AUTHOR

Very little is known of the life of Marcus Minucius Felix. His own book reveals what little we know and in some points this is corroborated by later writers, whose knowledge, however, may be from the same source, the "Octavius".

NATIONALITY

The family of the Minucii was well known among the Romans and included four consuls. One of this "gens" had the cognomen Felix. Whether our author belonged to this family or not seems incapable of proof.

The tradition has become fixed that the author of the "Octavius" was of African origin. His own work gives several indications of foreign origin. It is hardly conceivable that a Roman by birth and citizenship could have spoken as he does of the mistress of nations. At the founding of the city he sees only rascals bound together in crime, "nonne in ortu suo et scelere collecti et muniti immanitatis suae terrore creverunt?...confluxerant perditii, facinerosi, incesti, sicarii, proditores...Romulus parricidium fecit. Haec prima sunt auspicia religiosae civitatis! Mox alienas virgines...sine more rapuit,...et cum...soceris suis bellum miscuit...Quid inreligiosius, quid audacius, quid ipsa sceleris confidentia tutius?" (25.2-3). The subsequent

IV

THE AUTHOR

Very little is known of the life of Marcus Minucius Felix. His own book reveals what little we know and in some points this is corroborated by later writers, whose knowledge, however, may be from the same source, the "Octavius".

NATIONALITY

The family of the Minucii was well known among the Romans and included four consuls. One of this "gens" had the cognomen Felix. Whether our author belonged to this family or not seems incapable of proof.

The tradition has become fixed that the author of the "Octavius" was of African origin. His own work gives several indications of foreign origin. It is hardly conceivable that a Roman by birth and citizenship could have spoken as he does of the miseries of nations. At the founding of the city he sees only rascals bound together in crime, "nomine in oritur et aculeis collecti et gemitu immensitatis sine terrore prementis... contumax et perdit, facinorosi, incesti, avaritii, proditorum... Romanus perditionem facit. Hanc prius sunt auspicio religiosae civitates! Mox alienas virgines... sine more reseruit... et cum... soceris suis bellum miscuit... Quid infelix, quid autem, quid ipse aculeis confidens testatur" (22.2-5). The subsequent

history of Roman conquest appeals to him not as glory but violence. "Iam finitimos agro pellerere, civitates proximas evertere cum templis et altaribus, captos cogere, damnis alienis et suis sceleribus adolescere cum Romulo regibus ceteris et posteris ducibus disciplina communis est...

Ita quicquid Romani tenent...audaciae praeda est... Totiens ergo Romanis inpiatum est quotiens triumphatum." (25.4-6)

This harshness and irony more become a provincial than a native Roman. Moreover, the likeness of Minucius to Tertullian in incident, and to African writers in points of style, has been thought to be a result of his African extraction. He has been listed with the African writers, Arnobius, Cyprian, and Tertullian by Lactantius⁽¹⁾ and Jerome.⁽²⁾ The closeness even from boyhood of the friends who take part in the dialogue indicates that they were brought up in the same community.^(1.4)

Since Octavius arrives from an overseas province, presumed to be Africa, his home (2.1; 3.4), and Caecilius may well be from Cirta (9.6; 31.2), it is easy to conclude that all three friends were from Africa, though two at the time of the dialogue reside in Rome. Furthermore, the name of Minucius Felix has been found in two instances in Africa⁽³⁾ showing the existence of that family there. Although none of these is conclusive, yet nearly all scholars agree with the tradition which has become established that the author of the "Octavius" came from Africa. However, there is evidence

(1) op. cit. V. I, col. 551.

(2) op. cit. "Epistolae" LXX, col. 668.

(3) Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum VIII #1964, 12499.

history of Roman conquest appeals to him not as glory but
 violence. "Iam finitimos extra patres, civitates proximae
 evertere cum laetitia et alacritate, captae cunctae, damna
 alienis et suis posteribus adesse et Romanis proximis
 celeris et postea duobus diebus discipulis commissa est...

Ita duobus Romanis tenent... Andacianus natus est... Tullius
 ergo Romanis instans et quosdam trahens." (S. 4-5)

This narrative and irony more become a provincial than a
 native Roman. Moreover, the likeness of Minutius to Tertullian
 in incident, and to African writers in points of style, has
 been thought to be a result of his African extraction. He
 has been listed with the African writers, Arrianus, Cyprianus,
 and Tertullian by Isidore and Jerome. The closeness
 even from beyond of the friends who take part in the dialogue
 indicates that they were brought up in the same community. (1.4)

Since Octavius arrives from an overseas province, presumed
 to be Africa, his home (S. 1; S. 4) and Octavius may well

be from Africa (S. 6; S. 12). It is easy to conclude that all
 three friends were from Africa, though two at the time of

the dialogue reside in Rome. Furthermore, the name of
 (5)

Minutius Felix has been found in two instances in Africa
 showing the existence of that family there. Although none of
 these is conclusive, yet nearly all scholars agree with the
 tradition which has become established that the author of
 the "Octavius" came from Africa. However, there is evidence

that Minucius was a Roman. The purity of the style may indicate that he was reared and educated in Rome rather than in the provincial schools. Although there are certain elements of style comparable with the African writers, the "forced and exotic mannerisms"⁽¹⁾ characteristic of that school are, in general, lacking. That he should be listed with other authors who use the same tongue even though their nationality be different is not strange. The fact that the home of Octavius was in a province at the time of the dialogue in no way proves his place of birth. The very fact of his coming to Rome on business may indicate that this was his native city. Many a young Roman of means and enterprise had sought his fortunes in the provinces and settled there. It is quite probable that Minucius belonged to the consular family of the Minucii. The description of Caecilius as "homo domi forisque lateri tuo inhaerens" (3.1), in which the "tuo" refers to Minucius, is a fitting phrase for the relationship of client to patron, which gives evidence of the nobility of Minucius. He was successful in his profession as orator, but did not seek office because of his Christian faith, "nec de ultima statim plebe consistimus, si honores vestros ... recusamus." (31.6) His book is redolent with the atmosphere and culture of Rome.

Consequently, it seems likely that Minucius Felix, author of the "Octavius", was a scion of the Minucian gens,

(1) Rendall. Minucius Felix. Intro. p. 304.

that Minucius was a Roman. The purity of the style may indicate that he was reared and educated in Rome rather than in the provincial schools. Although there are certain elements of style comparable with the African writers, the "forced and exotic mannerisms" characteristic of that school are, in general, lacking. That he should be listed with other authors who use the same tongue even though their nationality be different is not strange. The fact that the home of Octavius was in a province at the time of the dialogue in no way proves his place of birth. The very fact of his coming to Rome on business may indicate that this was his native city. Many a young Roman of means and enterprise has sought his fortune in the provinces and settled there. It is quite probable that Minucius belonged to the consular family of the Minucii. The description of Caecilius as "homo domi forisque laetum et inhaerens" (2.1), in which the "domi" refers to Minucius, is a fitting phrase for the relationship of client to patron, which gives evidence of the nobility of Minucius. He was successful in his profession as orator, but did not seek office because of his Christian faith. "nec de ultis statim glorie conatibus, ad honores vestros ... recusamus." (2.1.6) His book is replete with the atmosphere and culture of Rome. Consequently, it seems likely that Minucius Felix, author of the "Octavius", was a son of the Minucian gens,

born in Africa, and sent to Rome to complete his education.

EDUCATION

The "Octavius" shows that Minucius was trained in the school of the orator whether he received that training in Africa or Rome. These schools were almost exclusively devoted to the theory and practice of eloquence and argument. The study prefatory to the school of the "rhetor" was obtained in that of the "grammaticus" where literature was read, studied, and, we might say, absorbed. The imagination and mind were (1) impressed with Plato, Homer, Cicero, Vergil. Jerome despaired at the persistence in his mind of the classical studies which he loved so dearly but which none the less he felt to be inconsistent with Christianity. The work of Minucius reveals the effect of these studies, for he quotes freely, without acknowledgement of the source usually, from Cicero, Seneca, Lucretius, Vergil and Plato. We can see too the influence of this study on his style, which combines the period of Cicero with the "sententiae" of Seneca. The careful pursuit of rhetoric was essential to the lawyer and this shows forth in his effective arrangement and presentation of his brief for Christianity.

The schools were by nature conservative and religiously guarded the old ideas with scorn for the new. Christianity never really gained a foothold in these strongholds of tradition. Rarely did a person trained in them

(1) "Epistolae" 22,30. Patrologiae Cursus Completus. XXII, col. 416-417.

"Apologia adversus libros Rufini", I, 30. Patrologiae Cursus Completus. XXIII, col. 421-423.

born in Africa, and sent to Rome to complete his education.

EDUCATION

The "Octavia" shows that Minucius was trained in the school of the orator, whether he received that training in Africa or Rome. These schools were almost exclusively devoted to the theory and practice of eloquence and argument. The study preparatory to the school of the "rhetor" was obtained in that of the "grammaticus" where literature was read, studied, and we might say, absorbed. The imagination and mind were impressed with Plato, Homer, Cicero, Vergil, Livy, and so on, as the persistence in his mind of the classical studies which he loved so dearly but which none the less he felt to be inconsistent with Christianity. The work of Minucius reveals the effect of these studies, for he quotes freely, without acknowledgment of the source usually, from Cicero, Seneca, Lucan, Vergil and Plato. We can see too the influence of this study on his style, which combines the period of Cicero with the "sententiae" of Seneca. The careful pursuit of rhetoric was essential to the lawyer and this shows forth in his effective arrangement and presentation of his brief for Christianity.

The schools were by nature conservative and religiously guarded the old ideas with scorn for the new. Christianity never really gained a foothold in these strongholds of tradition. Rarely did a convert trained in these

(1) "Octavia" 22, 30. Patrologiae Latinae Compendium. XXII, col. 416-417.
"Apologia adversus Iudeos Scripta". I, 30. Patrologiae Latinae Compendium. XXII, col. 421-422.

come to a belief in the new faith, and devote to that belief the powers gained from long years of study and application. Minucius was one of the few who bent the learning and eloquence so attained to the service of Christianity. With (1) Lactantius we might wish that he had applied that talent more extensively.

PROFESSION

The book itself bears evidence of the author's occupation when he explains his opportunity for leaving Rome, "ad vindemiam feriae iudiciariam curam relaxaverant". (2.3) The use of "nos" by Octavius in admitting his participation in the trials of the Christians before his conversion may include Minucius, "nos tamen cum sacrilegos aliquos et incestos, parricidas etiam defendendos et tuendos suscipiebamus, hos nec audiendos in totum putabamus, nonnumquam etiam miserantes eorum crudeliussaeviebamus, ut torqueremus confitentes ad negandum, videlicet ne perirent, exercentes in his perversam quaestionem, non quae verum erueret, sed quae mendacium cogeret. Et si qui infirmior malo pressus et victus Christianum se negasset, favebamus ei, quasi eierato nomine iam omnia facta sua illa negatione purgaret." (28. 3-4)

Lactantius (died c. 325 A. D.) the last of the Latin apologists, himself honored by the appellation of

(1) op. cit. V, 1, col. 551.

came to a belief in the new faith, and devote to that belief
the powers gained from long years of study and application.
Minucius was one of the few who bent the learning and
eloquence so attained to the service of Christianity. With
(1)
Lastentius we might wish that he had applied that talent
more extensively.

PROFESSION

The book itself bears evidence of the author's
occupation when he explains his opportunity for leaving
Rome, "ad vindictam feriam Iulianum curam relaxantem". (2.3)
The use of "nos" by Octavian in admitting his participation
in the trials of the Christians before his conversion may
include Minucius, "nos tamen cum sacrificios aliquid et
incestos, sacrificios etiam defendendos et tuendos suscipimus."
nos nos subditos in forum putamus, nonnumquam etiam
sacerdotes acrum crudeliter suscipimus, ut torqueremus
confidentes ad negandum, videlicet ne perirent, excentes in
his perveris questionibus, non quae verum erueret, sed quae
mandaculum coereret. Et si qui infirmior malo pressum
et victus Christianus se negasset, favemus ei, quasi
etiam nomine iam omnia facta sua illa nequeant purgare."
(28. 3-4)

Lastentius (died c. 325 A. D.) the last of the
Latin apologists, himself honored by the appellation of

"the Christian Cicero", testifies that Minucius was no mean advocate and, had he devoted himself to the study of Christian truth, would have been an efficient champion of it. "Et si qui forte litteratorum se ad eam (sapientiam et veritatem) contulerunt, defensionem ejus non suffecerunt. Ex eis, qui mihi noti sunt, Minucius Felix non ignobilis inter causidicos loci fuit. Hujus liber, cui Octavio titulus est, declarat, quam idoneus veritatis assertor esse potuisset, si se totum ad id studium contulisset."⁽¹⁾

Jerome (c. 392) famed for his eloquence, mentions Minucius five times in two of which he calls him a great orator, and assigns to his name not only the "Octavius" but a second book, "De fato vel contra mathematicos",⁽²⁾ the genuineness of which Jerome doubts as a result of the disparity of style.⁽³⁾ "Minucius Felix, Romae insignis causidicus, scripsit Dialogum Christiani et ethnici disputantium, qui Octavius inscribitur. Sed et alius sub nomine ejus fertur de Fato vel contra mathematicos, qui cum sit et ipse deserti hominis, non mihi videtur cum superioris libri stylo convenire."⁽⁴⁾ "Qui si flumen eloquentiae, et concinnas declamationes desiderant, legant Tullium, Quintilianum, Gallionem, Gabinianum, et ut ad nostros veniam,

(1) op. cit. V, 1, col. 551.

(2) op. cit. Vol. XXII, Ep. XLVIII, col. 502, LX, col. 595, LXX, col. 668; Vol. XXIII "De Viris Illustribus" LVIII, col. 669; vol. XXIV "Commentarii in Isaiam prophetam" VIII, col. 281. In vols. XXII and XXIV the spelling Minutius occurs.

(3) op. cit. Ep. LXX and "De Viris Illustribus".

(4) This may be the work hinted at in Octavius 36.2, "Ac de fato satis, vel si pauca, pro tempore, disputaturi alias et uberius et plenius."

(5) op. cit. "De Viris Illustribus".

- (1) 98-646 V.I. col. 501.
(2) 98-646 Vol. XXII, et. XXVIII, col. 502, LX, col. 505,
LXX, col. 508; Vol. XXIII "De Viris Illustribus" VIII,
col. 509; Vol. XXIV "Compendium in Italian program"
VIII, col. 501. In vols. XXII and XXIV the spelling
Ninivius occurs.
(3) 98-646 Et. LXX and "De Viris Illustribus".
(4) This may be the work hinted at in Giovanni Boccaccio's
"Decamerone", vol. VI, p. 100, and elsewhere.

Tertullianum, Cyprianum, Minutium, Arnobium, Lactantium, Hilarium."⁽¹⁾ Eucherius (c. 432 A. D.) also mentions his eloquence, "Et quando clarissimos facundia, Firmianum, Minucium, Cyprianum, Hilarium, Ioannem, Ambrosium ex illo volumine numerositatis evolvam?"⁽²⁾

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Caecilius in addressing Minucius makes known to us the earlier pagan life of our author and implies an earnest Christian life of some duration: "Utpote cum diligenter in utroque vivendi genere versatus repudiaris alterum, alterum conprobaris." (5.1) Minucius shows from his own hand that he was a convert to Christianity, "cum discussa caligine de tenebrarum profundo in lucem sapientiae et veritatis emergerem." (1.4) This took place some time before the dramatic date and, consequently, a longer time before the date of composition.

The book itself makes known only the following principles of the Christian faith: the providence (17.7-18.4), unity (18.5-7; 18.10-20.1) and omniscience (32.7-33.1) of God, the destruction of the world (34.1-4), the resurrection of the body (34.6-12), future reward and punishment (35.1-3). Minucius appears to present salvation by knowledge and works, "qui innocentiam colit, deo supplicat; qui iustitiam, deo libat, qui fraudibus abstinet, propitiat deum, qui hominem periculo subripit, optimam victimam caedit. Haec nostra

(1) op. cit. "Commentarii in Isaiam prophetam".

(2) "Epistola Paraenetica" etc. Patrologiae Cursus Completus, L, col. 719.

Terentianum, Gyprianus, Minutius, Lactantius, Hilarius. (1)
 Hilarius. "Eusebius (c. 325 A.D.) also mentions his
 eloquence. "Et quando eloquentiam facili, Terentianum,
 Minutius, Gyprianus, Hilarius, Irenaeus, Ambrosius ex illo
 volumine numeratissimis evolvant." (2)

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Caecilius in referring Minutius makes known to us
 the earlier pagan life of our author and implies an earnest
 Christian life of some duration: "Uspote cum diligenter
 in utroque vivendi genere versatus repudiatis alterum,
 alterum comprobatis." (5.1) Minutius shows from his own
 hand that he was a convert to Christianity. "cum discussa
 caligine de temerariis proinde in lucem ascendas et
 veritatis emergeres." (1.4) This took place some time before
 the dramatic date and, consequently, a longer time before
 the date of composition.

The book itself makes known only the following
 principles of the Christian faith: the providence (IV.7-18.4)
 unity (18.5-7; 18.10-20.1) and omniscience (32.7-35.1) of
 God, the destruction of the world (34.1-4), the resurrection
 of the body (34.8-12), future reward and punishment (35.1-3).
 Minutius appears to present salvation by knowledge and works.
 "qui innocentiam colit, deo supplicat; qui iustitiam, deo
 libet, qui transibit aeternitatem, propitius deum, qui hominem
 periculo amplexit, optima victimam caedit. Haec nostra

(1) op. cit. "Commentarii in Iulianum prophetam".
 (2) "Epistolae Patristicae" etc. Patrologiae Graecae Completio,
 I, col. 719.

sacrificia, haec dei sacra sunt: sic apud nos religiosior est ille qui iustior."(32.3) "Et quamquam inperitia dei sufficiat ad poenam, ita ut notitia prosit ad veniam, tamen si vobiscum Christiani comparemur...multo vobis meliores deprehendemur."(35.5) He makes known and, we may assume, approves the following practices of the Christians: purity in thought and deed, "nos pudorem non facie, sed mente praestamus"(31.5); monogamy, "unius matrimonii vinculo libenter inhaeremus"(31.5); celibacy, "plerique...virginitate perpetua fruuntur"(31.5); sobriety, "nec enim indulgemus epulis aut convivium mero ducimus"(31.5); refraining from blood, "ut nec edulium pecorum in cibis sanguinem noverimus"(30.6); refraining from holding office, "honores vestros et purpuras recusamus."(31,6); brotherly love, "nos mutuo...amore diligimus, quoniam odisse non novimus: sic nos...fratres vocamus"(31.8); law-abiding, "Christianus ibi (in carcere) nullus nisi aut reus suae religionis aut profugus"(35.6); no participation in processions and shows, "merito malis voluptatibus et pompis vestris et spectaculis abstinemus"(37.11); abhorrence of sacrificial offerings, "sacrificiorum reliquias et pocula delibata contemnimus"(38.1); refraining from use of garlands, "caput non coronamus"(38.2), "nec mortuos coronamus"(38.3); casting out of demons, "adiurati enim per deum verum et solum, inviti, miseri corporibus inhorrescunt et vel exiliunt statim vel evanescunt gradatim, prout fides patientis adiuvat aut gratia curantis adspirat"(27.7).

admittit, hanc dei auctoritatem: sic autem non reprobatur
est illa dei auctoritas. (32.5) "Et quoniam inveniuntur
sufficiens ad poenitentiam, ita ut poenitentia non sit
et volens Christiani comparantur... unde poenitentia
deprehenditur. (32.5) He makes known and, he may assume,
approves the following practices of the Christians: purity
in thought and deed, "nos pudorem non facit, sed mentis
praesentiam" (31.5); monogamy, "unius matrimonii vinculo
libenter inhaeremus" (31.5); celibacy, "celibatus... virginitatis
perpetua fructus" (31.5); sobriety, "nos enim indulgentiam
egulis aut convivium mero ducimus" (31.5); refraining from
blood, "ut nec etiam poenitentiam in cibus sanguinem haurimus" (31.5);
refraining from holding office, "honores vestros et purpureas
recusamus" (31.5); prophetic love, "nos mutuo... amore
diligimus, quoniam officio non novimus: sic nos... fratres
vocamus" (31.5); law-abiding, "Christianus ibi (in carcere)
nullus nisi ad rem suam religionis aut gratiae" (31.5);
no participation in processions and shows, "merito malis
voluptatibus et pompis vestris et spectaculis abstinentes" (31.5);
abstinence of sacrificial offerings, "sacrificiorum religionis
et pocula delibata contemnimus" (31.5); refraining from use
of garlands, "caput non coronamus" (31.5); "nos mortuos
coronamus" (31.5); casting out of demons, "adversari animi per
dum verum et scilicet, invicti, nostri corporibus inhonoremus
et vel exiliant aeternam vel evanescent gratiam, prout libet
patientia adiuvet nos gratia curantis aspergit" (31.7).

There is no mention of Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Bible, sin, redemption, baptism or the sacraments. There is an absence of Pauline theology and the mysticism of the Eastern church. Minucius has been judged to be a recent convert at the time of writing and, consequently, he would not have had time to learn these things, and perchance like Arnobius⁽¹⁾ was writing an apology to gain acceptance into the church. Others have placed him among the heretics, but Lactantius, who lived not long after Minucius, and Jerome count him among the defenders of the faith. At least, we see here that tendency in the Western Church not to exalt Christ and the esoteric elements of the faith, which later resulted in the council of Nicaea.

PURPOSE IN WRITING

There is a reason for the lack of teaching of the Christian belief which becomes clear when we understand to which class of people Minucius is appealing. He is not writing for Christians since it is an apology for the faith. He does not address the rulers since he makes no mention of their legal griefs of "maiestas laesa", of the illegal aspect of their meetings, or of the laws against the Christians. He does not write to win the masses of the common people from which the early church was largely recruited, because he inserts so much of philosophy and omits what would appeal to

There is no mention of Christ, the Holy Spirit, the

Bible, sin, redemption, baptism or the sacraments. There is

an absence of Pauline theology and the mysticism of the

Eastern church. Minucius has been judged to be a recent convert

at the time of writing and, consequently, he would not have

had time to learn these things, and verities like Aristotle

(1)

was writing an apology to gain acceptance into the church.

Others have placed him among the heretics, but Iacintus,

who lived not long after Minucius, and Jerome count him among

the defenders of the faith. At least, we see here that

tendency in the Western Church not to exalt Christ and the

esoteric elements of the faith, which later resulted in the

council of Nicea.

PURPOSE IN WRITING

There is a reason for the lack of teaching of the

Christian belief which becomes clear when we understand to

which class of people Minucius is appealing. He is not

writing for Christians since it is an apology for the faith.

He does not address the rulers since he makes no mention of

their level of "mystical ideas", of the liberal

aspect of their message, or of the law against the Christians.

He does not write to win the masses of the common people from

which the early church was largely recruited, because he

inserts so much of philosophy and omits what would appeal to

the more vulgar. This treatise is a justification of the Christian religion intended for the educated aristocracy, the elite of Roman society.

Minucius himself had received his education in the schools which clung to the religion of their ancestors in form and looked to the philosophers for moral guidance. Coming from the same environment he understood the feeling of resentment on the part of men of learning and influence who despised Christianity because they saw that its teachers were usually humble and uneducated men, and hated it because it was lessening their own influence over the people. So had the Academics been galled by the rise of the Epicurean system set forth by a man who professed to be untaught in philosophy. To defend his religion against those who slandered it in hatred and ignorance and to show its worth as a philosophy of life, Minucius wrote his little book.

In Caecilius, men of learning and intelligence would recognize one of themselves, skeptic in theory but conservative in practice, hostile to the new dogmas which were a detriment to both theory and practice. Minucius reproaches them for believing rumors as being unworthy of them, appeals to their reason and to their memories of classical reading of poets and philosophers. He realized

the new values. This reaction is a justification of the
Christian religion intended for the present epoch.
the state of Roman society.

Minister himself has received his education in
the schools which stand on the ruins of their ancestors.
in fact and looked to the philosophy to guide him.
Coming from the same environment he understood the feeling
of resentment on the part of men of learning and influence
who despised Christianity because they saw that its teachers
were usually humble and uneducated men, and hated it because
it was lessening their own influence over the people. So
had the Academic been guided by the spirit of the Whigism
expressed not only by a man who professed to be a student in
philosophy. To defend his religion against those who
affected to be in hatred and ignorance and to show the worth
as a philosophy of life, Minister wrote his little book.

In fact, men of learning and intelligence
would recognize one of themselves, especially in theory but
conservative in practice. Minister is not a man who
wrote a treatise to both theory and practice. Minister
remembers that for believing men as before minister of
theology is their reason and in this sense it
is the teaching of peace and good government. He realized

how easily these skeptics would be prejudiced and reject his teaching. Consequently he makes the way "non tantummodo facilis sed et favorabilis" (39). As the apology progresses there is a change in the attitude towards the philosophers. At first it appears to agree entirely with them, "ut quivis arbitretur, aut nunc Christianos philosophos esse aut philosophos fuisse iam tunc Christianos" (20.1), as if to win the entire confidence of the followers of philosophy. Later, as their credence is gained, part of the sayings are shown to be false. "Sic etiam condicionem renascendi sapientium clariores, Pythagoras primus et praecipuus Plato, corrupta et dimidiata fide tradiderunt"(34.6)... non philosophi sane studio, sed mimi convicio digna ista sententia est"(34.7). Finally, Socrates is called "scurra Atticus"(38.5) and other philosophers are charged, "philosophorum supercilia contemnimus, quos corruptores et adulteros novimus et tyrannos et semper adversus sua vitia facundos"(38.5). Moreover, by an indirect, and so all the more effective, way Minucius shows these people who are inclined to believe that all Christians are vile, worthless and unsociable creatures that Christians are men of dignity and worth who share the common attributes of humanity. He does this by making known that he is himself in an honorable position which he leaves only on the regular days of court vacation (2.3). He expresses the tender bond of affection between friends (1.1-4; 2.2-3), the deepness of paternal love (2.1). By these devices he convinces his readers

that Christians are like other folk, with the same business cares and the same feelings.

Minucius aimed to clear away the cloud of misunderstanding which separated the cultured from the Christian religion and to show the harmony of Christianity with the best of philosophical thought. He strove to bridge that gap between reason and faith which in later days again appeared to yawn between science and religion. In this purpose, the work of Minucius is unique in the history of the early church. Tertullian wrote now for the eyes of governors and statesmen, now for the idolworshipping masses; the Greek apologists for the emperors.

Why did he not make his faith more fully known? The leaders of the young church had found that it was not wise to "cast their pearls before swine", and believers were forbidden to reveal the mysteries to the profane. Octavius (31.6) implies that they do not speak in public unless asked. He avoids even the mention of Christ's name, although when challenged by Caecilius "hominem summo supplicio pro facinore punitum et crucis ligna feralia eorum caerimonias fabulatur"(9.4), he does imply his deity, "nam quod religioni nostrae hominem noxium et crucem eius adscribitis, longe de vicinia veritatis erratis, qui putatis deum credi aut meruisse noxium aut potuisse terrenum. Ne ille miserabilis, cuius in homine mortali spes omnis innititur: totum enim eius auxilium cum extincto

that Christians are like other folk, with the same passions
and the same feelings.

Minotius aimed to clear away the cloud of misunder-
standing which separated the cultured from the Christian reli-
gion and to show the harmony of Christianity with the best
of philosophical thought. He strove to bridge that gap
between reason and faith which in later days appeared
to yawn between science and religion. In this purpose, the
work of Minotius is unique in the history of the early church.
Tertullian wrote now for the eyes of governors and statesmen,
now for the idol-worshipping masses; the Greek apologetes for
the emperors.

Why did he not make his faith more fully known? The
leaders of the young church had found that it was not wise to
"cast their pearls before swine", and believers were forbidden

to reveal the mysteries of the profane. (1 Cor. 14:16)

implies that they do not speak in public unless asked. He

avoids even the mention of Christ's name, although when

challenged by Gacilius "hominem sumus appellatis pro Testore

quidam et cetera Igitur Tertullianus exortitur Testatur" (p. 4)

he does imply his deity, "nam quod religiosi nostrum hominem

noxium et crucem eius ascripserunt. Ionge de vestris veritatibus

certat, qui putat deum credit aut malevolus noxius aut

potius terrenum. He is miserable, out in his mortal

esse omnia irritant: totum enim eius animum cum extinc-

homine finitur!"(29.2-3) Yet Tertullian and others did not hesitate to make public many of these things in addressing officials. Furthermore, a belief had arisen that truth was not reached by one bound, but rather by degrees of knowledge. (1) The first step was natural religion, and it was to this initial step that Minucius sought to lead his Roman friends of learning. There he stopped. But the conclusion of the book indicates the need of further teaching, "Etiam nunc tamen aliqua consubsidunt... perfectae institutioni necessaria, de quibus crastino... requiremus"(40.2).

Plagiarism as we know it was not then a charge. Rather it was common practice to make use of whatever had been before. In Roman Comedy, for instance, we find no effort on the part of Ennius or Accius to develop new plots or new characters, as the dramatist of today is forced to do; they used the Greek originals, each in his own way. Tertullian is considered one of the most original of writers in the period in which Minucius lived. Yet he combined his originality of treatment with "wholesale unacknowledged borrowing from Irenaeus" in his treatise against the Valentinians. Were we to require originality as the essential for greatness, where would Shakespeare be?

The main essentials of Christian apology were laid down early in the history of the church. It was natural that the same charges should be defended in much the same way.

(1) Monceaux, op.cit. I, p. 496.

(2) Salmon, "Minucius Felix, Marcus" in Smith's A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Vol. III, p.922.

domine finitur!" (29.2-3) Yet Tertullian and others did not
hesitate to make good to many of these things in addressing
officials. Furthermore, a belief had arisen that truth was
(1) not reached by one point, but rather by degrees of knowledge.
The first step was natural religion, and it was to this initial
step that Minucius sought to lead his Roman friends of learning.
There he stopped. But the conclusion of the book indicates
the need of further teaching. "Etiam nam sanctorum aliquid
considerandum... perfectae institutionis necessitas, de qua
crastino... regitur" (43.2).

V

RELATION OF THE "OCTAVIUS" TO OTHER WORKS

Jerome says of the author of "Octavius", "quid
 (1)
 Gentilium scripturarum dimisit intactum?" The "Octavius"
 does indeed show indebtedness to profane literature. Many
 believe it owes much also to the work of Christian writers.
 Minucius, with a few exceptions, principally Plato and Vergil,
 does not name his sources nor does he leave us any bibliography.
 Such was not a requirement in the days in which he wrote.
 Plagiarism as we know it was not then a charge. Rather it was
 common practice to make use of whatever had been before. In
 Roman Tragedy, for instance, we find no effort on the part
 of Ennius or Accius to develop new plots or new characters, as
 the dramatist of today is forced to do; they used the Greek
 originals, each in his own way. Tertullian is considered one
 of the most original of writers in the period in which Minucius
 lived. Yet he combined his originality of treatment with
 (2)
 "wholesale unacknowledged borrowing from Iraeneus" in his
 treatise against the Valentinians. Were we to require
 originality as the essential for greatness, where would Shake-
 speare be?

The main essentials of Christian apology were laid
 down early in the history of the church. It was natural that
 the same charges should be defended in much the same way,

(1) "Epistolae" IXX, op.cit.

(2) Salmon. "Minucius Felix, Marcus" in Smith's A Dictionary
 of Christian Biography. Vol. III, p.922.

RELATION OF THE "OCTAVIUS" TO OTHER WORKS

I have seen of the author of "Octavius", "said

(1)

Gentilius scripturae divinitus inspiratae. The "Octavius"

does indeed show indications of genuine literature. Many

believe it owes much also to the work of Christian writers.

Minucius, with a few exceptions, principally Plato and Vergil,

does not name his sources nor does he leave us any bibliography.

Each was not a reduplication in the days in which he wrote.

Plagiarism as we know it was not then a charge. Rather it was

common practice to make use of whatever had been before. In

Roman times, for instance, we find no effort on the part

of Ennius or Accius to develop new plots or new characters, as

the dramatist of today is forced to do; they used the Greek

originals, each in his own way. Terentian is considered one

of the most original of writers in the period in which Minucius

lived. Yet he combined his originality of treatment with

(2)

"wholesale unacknowledged borrowing from Terence" in his

treatise against the Valentinians. Were we to require

originality as the essential for greatness, where would Shakespeare

appear but

The main essentials of Christian apologetics were laid

down early in the history of the church. It was natural that

the same changes should be effected in much the same way.

(1) "Poliotheae" LXX, col. 111.
(2) Salmon, "Minucius Felix, Maron" in Baith's A Dictionary
of Christian Biography. Vol. III, p. 922.

and that arguments proved effective should be repeated by later pleaders. In neither content nor style can Minucius be called original. He has culled his material from diverse sources: Greek philosophy, Academic writing, Stoic argument, even satire and epic verse. He has indeed complimented himself in the person of Octavius for his success in the skillful use of arguments, illustrations and authorities from literature, "magnitudine admirationis evanui, quod ea, quae facilius est sentire quam dicere, et argumentis et exemplis et lectionum auctoritatibus adornasset"(39).

French scholars liken this work of Minucius to a mosaic. "L'Octavius... est une mosaïque de pensées et de style, si habilement, si naturellement agencée que le lecteur non prévenu ne s'aperçoit pas qu'il a affaire à un vrai travail de marqueterie"⁽¹⁾... "Mosaïque d'idées, de scènes, et de détails pris de tous côtés... Où donc est l'originalité de Minucius Felix?—Style à part, elle est tout entière dans l'habile synthèse qu'il a su faire de ces éléments si divers, en les subordonnant tous à une seule idée."⁽²⁾

Cicero

Minucius is debtor to Cicero more than to any other classical writer, in form, content and style.

The form of the "Octavius" follows that of the dialogues of Cicero. Plato and other writers had made use of the dialogue to present philosophical teaching, but the

(1) Waltzing, "Minucius Felix et Platon" in Mélanges Boissier, p. 455.

(2) Monceaux, op. cit. I, p. 490.

and that arguments proved effective should be repeated by
 later pleaders. In neither content nor style can Minucius
 be called original. He has culled his material from diverse
 sources: Greek philosophy, Academic writing, Stoic argument,
 even satire and epic verse. He has indeed commented
 himself in the person of Octavius for his success in the
 skilful use of arguments, illustrations and authorities
 from literature, "magnitudine amissionis evanui, quod
 ea, quae facillime est sentire quam dicere, et argumentis et
 exemplis et locutionum auctoritatibus adstruere" (30).

French scholars liken this work of Minucius to a
 mosaic. "L'Octavius... est une mosaïque de pensées et de
 styles, et habilement, et naturellement agencés dans l'ordonne-
 ment, non seulement ne s'aperçoit pas qu'il s'agit d'un vrai travail
 de mosaïque" (1). "Mosaïque d'idées, de scènes, et de détails
 pris de tous côtés... On dirait que l'originalité de Minucius
 Polix-Stylis réside, elle est tout entière dans l'habileté
 synthétique qu'il a su faire de ces éléments si divers, en les
 subordonnant tous à une seule idée." (2)

Cicero

Minucius is closer to Cicero more than to any other
 classical writer, in form, content and style.
 The form of the "Octavius" follows that of the
 dialogues of Cicero. Plato and other writers had made use
 of the dialogue to present philosophical teaching, but the

(1) Weisbach, "Minucius Polix et Platon" in *Mélanges de Philologie*
 (2) Monod, *op. cit.*, I, p. 430.

dialogue was less formal, because of the naturalness of question and objection interposed during the exposition of the subject. Minucius allows none of this freedom. One side is heard through to the end before the other makes reply. We find a much closer parallel to the "Octavius" in the use of dialogue by Cicero in the "De Natura Deorum". Cicero finds at the house of his friend Cotta, the Epicurean, Velleius, and the Stoic, Balbus. These men as representatives of three different schools of thought present their respective views of the gods. Cicero's own philosophy as an Academic is expressed by Cotta. Velleius explains the Epicurean system and Cotta disproves his evidence. Then the Stoic position is given by Balbus, and Cotta gives the modification of that which is incumbent on the professed doubter of the Academic school. The characterization of Caecilius appears to follow the pattern of Cotta, or, we may say, of Cicero himself. It has been said that Minucius, whose classical idol Cicero was, may have imagined that by his work he had converted this pagan saint, as it were, to his own Christian faith. Caecilius (5.2;13.5) expresses the anti-dogmatism of the Academic school which Cicero followed (D.N.D.I,1,1;5,12)⁽²⁾; he also in spite of this doubt adheres to the belief in the gods (6.1) lest all authority and restraint be removed from the people, even as Cicero (D.N.D I,1,2;42,117-118). The opportunity for the discussion of philosophy in both books

(1) Boissier, op.cit. p.316.

(2) D.N.D. = De Natura Deorum.

dialogue was less formal, because of the naturalness of
question and objection interposed during the exposition of
the subject. Minucius allows none of this freedom. One
side is heard through to the end before the other makes
reply. We find a much closer parallel to the "Octavius" in
the use of dialogue by Cicero in the "De Natura Deorum".
Cicero finds at the house of his friend Gotta, the Epicurean,
Velleius, and the Stoic, Balbus. These men as representatives
of three different schools of thought present their respective
views of the gods. Cicero's own philosophy as an Academic
is expressed by Gotta. Velleius explains the Epicurean
system and Gotta disproves his evidence. Then the Stoic
position is given by Balbus, and Gotta gives the modification
of that which is incumbent on the professed doubter of the
Academic school. The characterization of Cassilius appears
to follow the pattern of Gotta, or, we may say, of Cicero
himself. It has been said that Minucius, whose classical ideal
Cicero was, may have imagined that by his work he had converted
this pagan saint, as it were, to his own Christian faith.
Cassilius (5.2; 13.5) expresses the anti-dogmatism of the
Academic school which Cicero followed (D.N.D. I.1.5; 12); he
also in spite of this doubt adheres to the belief in the
gods (6.1) lest all authority and restraint be removed from
the people, even as Cicero (D.N.D. I.1.2; 42, 117-118). The
opportunity for the discussion of philosophy in both books

(1) Bolander, op.cit. p. 316.
(2) D.N.D. De Natura Deorum.

arises from the legal holiday for the courts, in "Octavius" for the vintage gathering (2.3), in Cicero's book for the games (D.N.D.I,6,15).

In the content of his work Minucius has much which takes its source in the books of Cicero, not only argument but idea and form of expression. It would be long to give full quotations, and in most instances I will indicate the passages of common material. In many of these there is similarity of form as well as subject matter but in general Minucius does not slavishly copy but becomes master of his material, reshaping it to his own needs. The following is not intended to be a complete list of parallel passages but it shows the type of borrowing and gives some idea of its extent. The suffering of the good as well as the evil (5.10-13) is a shortened form of Cicero (D.N.D.III,32,79-80). Chapter 7 in regard to the vindication of the reliability of auspices and augury gives a majority of the same incidents as D.N.D.II, 2,6 and 3,7-10. Chapter 8.1-2, gives the same instances of those who discredited the gods as D.N.D.I,1,2 and 23,63. Caecilius' conception of the absurdity of the omnipresence and omniscience of God(10.5) is reminiscent of the Epicurean view (D.N.D.I,20,52 and 54); I quote in part, "molestum illum volunt, inquietum, inpudenter etiam curiosum"(10.5), "curiosum et plenum negotii deum"(D.N.D.I,20,54). The argument against resurrection if conceived without a body is similar to that of Velleius regarding the gods: "sine corpore? hoc, quod

arises from the fact that in "Orestes"
for the vintage gathering (2.5), in Cicero's book for the
games (D.N.D.I. 1.15).

In the content of his work Minucius has much which
takes its source in the books of Cicero, not only argument
but ideas and form of expression. It would be long to give
full quotations, and in most instances I will indicate the
passages of common material. In many of these there is

similarity of form as well as subject matter, but in general
Minucius does not slavishly copy but becomes master of his
material, reshaping it to his own needs. The following is
not intended to be a complete list of borrowed passages but
it shows the type of borrowing and gives some idea of its

extent. The borrowing of the good as well as the evil (2.10-15)
is a shortened form of Cicero (D.N.D.I. 1.15-20). Chapter
7 in regard to the vindication of the reliability of auguries
and augury gives a number of the same incidents as D.N.D.I. 1.17,
2.6 and 2.7-10. Chapter 8.1-2, gives the same instances of

those who disbelieved the gods as D.N.D.I. 1.2 and 2.5, 63.
Orestes' conception of the deity of the omnipresence and
omniscience of God (10.5) is reminiscent of the Epicurean view
(D.N.D.I. 1.20, 22 and 24); I quote in part, "solent enim
volunt, inquit, invidiosum esse curam" (10.5), "curam

et of omnia negotia habet" (D.N.D.I. 1.20, 24). The argument against
retribution if conceived without a deity is similar to that
of Valerius regarding the gods: "sine corpore hoc, etiam

sciam, neque mens neque anima nec vita est"(11.7); "quod vero sine corpore ullo deumvult esse,... intelligi non potest: careat enim sensu necesse est, careat etiam prudentia, careat voluptate"(D.N.D.I,12,30). The names of those who established the principles of the Academics (13.3) follows Cicero(D.N.D. I,5,11). The illustration of the unwillingness of Simonides (13.4) to pronounce on the "quid et qualis" of the gods is taken from D.N.D.(I,22,60). The metaphor used in 16.1 (if "fulmine" is the correct emendation of "inlumine") "ut conviciorum amarissimam labem verborum veracium flumine diluamus" corresponds to Cicero's, "sic orationis flumine reprehensoris convicia diluntur"(D.N.D.II,7,20). Note the slight variations in the comparison of man with beast; "praecipue cum a feris beluis hoc differamus, quod illa prona in terramque vergentia nihil nata sint prospicere nisi pabulum, nos, quibus vultus erectus, quibus suspectus in caelum datus est... per quae deum adgnosimus"(17.2); "Qui (dei) primum eos (homines) humo excitatos celsos et erectos constituerunt, ut deorum cognitionem caelum intuentes capere possent... quasi spectatores superarum rerum atque caelestium, quarum spectaculum ad nullum aliud genus animantium pertinet" (D.N.D.II,56,140). "Quid enim potest esse tam apertum, tam confessum tamque perspicuum, cum oculos in caelum sustuleris et quae sunt infra circaque lustraveris, quam esse aliquod numen praestantissimae mentis, quo omnis natura inspiretur, moveatur, alatur, gubernatur?"(17.4) "quid enim potest esse

scilicet, neque enim necesse anima nec vita est" (17.7): "good vero
aine corpore nullo demum vita esse... intelligi non potest:
coram enim sensu necesse est, carere enim prudentia, carere
voluntate" (D.N.D.I.12.30). The names of those who established
the principles of the Academies (15.5) follow directly (D.N.D.
1.5.11). The illustration of the unwillingness of Socrates
(15.4) to pronounce on the "quid et qualis" of the gods is
taken from D.N.D.I.22.60). The metaphor used in 15.1 (it
"fulmine" is the correct translation of "fulmine") "ut
convictorum amarissimum Iam vero versus fulmine
fulmine" corresponds to Cicero's, "sic orationis fulmine
verborum convicia fulmine" (D.N.D.I.17.20). Note the
slight variations in the comparison of man with beast:
"præcipue cum a fœlis hominis hoc differamus, quod illi prorsus
in terrarum vegetantibus nihil aliud nisi præcipue nihil
solum, nos, pulvis vultus erectus, pulvis erectus in
caelum datus est... per omnia demum æthereum" (17.2): "qui
(hæc) primum eos (homines) hinc excitatos datus est erectus
conspicimus, ut deorum cognitionem caelum intentos capere
possent... quædam spectatorem super ipsum etque oculatum
quædam spectatorem et oculum alium genus animalium deditur"
(D.N.D.II.56.140). "Quid enim potest esse tam apertum, tam
confessus tamque perspicuum, cum oculus in oculum iustitiam
et quæ sunt inter cunctas iustitias, quæ esse aliud
numen præstantissimum debita, quo omnia natura inspiratur,
novissimè, alatur, gubernatur?" (17.4) "Quid enim potest esse

tam apertum tamque perspicuum, cum caelum suspeximus caelestiaque contemplati sumus, quam esse aliquod numen praestantissimae mentis, quo haec regantur?" (D.N.D.II,2,4) Minucius (17.5-7) mentions the wonders of nature in shorter compass than Cicero (D.N.D.II,40; 53.131-132) and the conclusion "quae singula non modo ut crearentur, fierent, disponderentur, summi opificis et perfectae rationis eguerunt, verum etiam sentiri, perspicui, intellegi sine summa sollertia et ratione non possunt" (17.6) agrees with "Aut vero aliqua natura mentis et rationis experts haec efficere potuit? quae non modo ut fierent ratione eguerunt, sed intellegi qualia sint sine summa ratione non possunt" (D.N.D.II,44,115). Minucius takes briefer notice of the wonders of water (17.9) than Cicero (D.N.D.II,39,98 and 100). The protective ornament of animals (17.10) may be suggested by Cicero's D.N.D.(II,47,121). The simile "omnes ceteri sensus velut in arce compositi" (17.11) comes from D.N.D.(II,56,140), "sensus... tam quam in arce... collocati sunt." The beauty and fitness of the human form and its parts (17.11-18.1) may be compared with D.N.D.(I,18,47 and II,54,133-58,146). The illustrations of providence, for the young by the mother's milk (18.2) and compensations in nature (18.3) come from Cicero (D.N.D.II,51, 128 and II,52,130). The comparison of house and owner with universe and God (18.4) is similar to Cicero (D.N.D.II,5,15). The discussion of philosophers who considered one God as the

qui providens, qui totum ipsum agens ac dictus, videtur aut

tan auctoritate per se. tan casum suspensum
causaeque contentum. quae esse aliud non
presupponit. (D.W.D.II.2.4)
Minimus (I.5-7) mentions the wonders of nature in general
comes than Cicero (D.W.D.II.40; 55.131-132) and the
conclusion "quae singula non modo ut creparetur, fierent,
disponeretur, auti opibus et perfectis rationis egerent,
verum etiam sentiri, percipi, intellegi etiam summa sollicitudo
et ratione non possunt" (I.6) agrees with "Aut vero aliud
naturae mentis et rationis experta non effugit potentia quae
non modo ut fierent ratione egerent, sed intellegi qualia
sint etiam summa ratione non possunt" (D.W.D.II.44.115).
Minimus takes notice of the wonders of water (I.9)
than Cicero (D.W.D.II.39.98 and 100). The prepositional
ornament of animals (I.10) may be suggested by Cicero's
D.W.D.II.47.123). The simile "omnes eadem sententia sunt in
esse compositi" (I.11) comes from D.W.D.II.58.140), "sententia...
ben quam in arte... collocati sunt." The beauty and fitness
of the human form and its parts (I.11-12.1) may be compared
with D.W.D.II.58.147 and II.58.135-136). The illustrations
of providence, for the young by the father's wife (I.2) and
connections in nature (I.3) come from Cicero (D.W.D.II.51,
138 and II.52.130). The comparison of house and owner with
universe and God (I.4) is similar to Cicero (D.W.D.II.5.132).
The discussion of philosophers who considered one God as the

source of the universe (19.4-15) is a summary of Cicero (D.N.D.I,10,25-16,42) and trustingly reproduces even the errors.⁽¹⁾ The humanity of the gods (21.1-2) is based on the following passages from D.N.D.(I,42,118-119;15,38;II,23,60). Their physical deformities (23.5-6) is the equivalent of D.N.D.(I,30,83). "Ingratum est, cum sit litabilis hostia bonus animus et pura mens et sincera sententia"(32.2) is similar in thought to "Cultus autem deorum est optimus idemque castissimus atque sanctissimus plenissimusque pietatis,ut eos semper pura, integra, incorrupta et mente et voce veneremur"(D.N.D.II,28,71). The epithet "Socrates scurra Atticus"(38.5) occurs in Cicero "Socratem ipsum... scurram Atticum fuisse dicebat"(D.N.D.I,34,93). However, Minucius is not limited to the "De Natura Deorum" for his material. He also draws upon other works of Cicero. The account of success of augury (7.3-4) takes examples mentioned in "De Divinatione"⁽²⁾ (D.D. I,24,51;35,77 and II,8,20-9,22; I, 16,29) and its failure (26.1-6) from the same book (D.D.II, 24,52; 33,71; 56,116; 57,118). Not only the philosophical books of Cicero appeal to Minucius but we find in "Pro Milone" a thought used in Octavius. Minucius has "Deum oculis carnalibus vis videre, cum ipsam animam tuam, qua vivificaris et loqueris, nec aspicere possis nec tenere? (32.6); Cicero "... nisi forte idcirco non putant, quia non apparet nec cernitur, proinde quasi nostram ipsam mentem,qua sapimus, qua providemus, qua haec ipsa agimus ac dicimus, videre aut

(1) Waltzing. "Minucius Felix et Platon", p. 456.

(2) D.D.= De Divinatione.

source of the universe (19.4-13) is a summary of Cicero
(D.N.D. 1.10, 25-16, 42) and trustingly reproduces even the
errors. The humanity of the gods (21.1-2) is based on
the following passages from D.N.D. 1.42, 118-119; 15, 23, 60.
Their physical deformities (27.5-6) is the equivalent of
D.N.D. 1.30, 33. "Insuper est, cum eis libellulae hostia
bonae animae et pura mens et sincera conscientia" (32.2) is
similar in thought to "Omnis autem deorum est ceterum
admonere castitatis aciem sanctissimum placentissimum
placitum, ut non sumptibus, integritate, incorruptis et mente
et voce veneretur" (D.N.D. 1.11, 28, 71). The golden "Sourates
sacrae Atalae" (35.1) occurs in Cicero "Sourates igitur...
sacrae Atalae" (D.N.D. 1.14, 27). However,
Minucius is not limited to the "De Natura Deorum" for his
material. He also draws upon other works of Cicero. The
account of success of energy (7.3-4) takes examples mentioned
in "De Divinatione" (D.N.D. 1.24, 51; 32, 77 and 11.8, 20-9, 22; 1.
16, 29) and his failure (26.1-6) from the same book (D.N.D. 1.
24, 52; 32, 77; 36, 126; 37, 118). Not only the philosophical
books of Cicero appeal to Minucius but we find in "Pro
Milone" a phrase used in Cicero. Minucius has "Deum
oculis carissimum via viamque, cum ipsam animam suam, qua
vivificaria et iocundaria, nec solummodo possit nec tenet" (32.6).
Cicero "... nihil forte libet non putant, quia non agunt
nec certant, quodam quasi montem locum habent, per agunt
cum providentia, quae haec ipsa agunt ac dant, vivit et

(1) Valerius, "Minucius Felix et Paganus", p. 456.
(2) D.N.D. De Divinatione.

plane qualis aut ubi sit sentire possimus"(Pro Milone,31,84).

The style of Minucius as we have already noted is mainly Ciceronian.

Seneca

Seneca was a Stoic and Stoicism was "the porch of
(1)
Christianity". It acknowledged deity and upheld virtue.

Seneca toned down the extremes of Stoicism and admitted truths from other schools of thought. Because he so nearly approximated the principles of Christianity regarding the deity, his providence for mankind, and the simple life,

Seneca was dear to those who loved both their faith and the lore of the classics. So true was this that in the fourth century correspondence between Seneca and St. Paul was fabricated that this one just outside the pale of Christianity, the highest thinker of his group, might seem bound to the Christian faith through the greatest of the apostles.

Minucius sensed the fitness of much of Seneca's philosophy toward life, and he made use of the striking pithiness of thought found in the dialogues and epistles. Parallel passages are quoted in the following paragraph of which many more might be given.

"Sciat omnes homines, sine dilectu aetatis, sexus, dignitatis, rationis et sensus capaces et habiles procreatos nec fortuna nantos, sed natura insitos esse sapientiam"(16.5):
"bona mens omnibus patet, omnes ad hoc sumus nobiles.nec reicit

(1) Richard Mott Gummere. Seneca the Philosopher and his Modern Message, p. 54.

"bona mens omnibus patet, omnes ad hoc genus homines, nec relict
nec fortuna nactus, sed natura ingenio esse sapientem" (16.5):
dialectic, rational et sensus expressus et habiles orationes
"Sicut omnes homines, sine ulla relictis, sensus,

more might be given.
passages are quoted in the following paragraph of which many
thought found in the dialogues and epistles. Parallel
toward life, and he made use of the striking pictures of
Minucius raised the fitness of much of Seneca's philosophy
Christian faith through the greatest of the apostles.
the highest thinker of his group, might seem bound to the

fabricated that this one just outside the pale of Christianity.
century correspondence between Seneca and St. Paul was
lore of the classics. So true was this that in the fourth
Seneca was dear to those who loved both their faith and the
daily, his providence for mankind, and the simple life,
approximated the principles of Christianity regarding the
things from other schools of thought. Seneca has so nearly
Seneca found how the extremes of Stoicism and admitted

Christianity". It acknowledged duty and upheld virtue.
(1)
Seneca was a Stoic and Epicurean was "the porch of
Seneca
mainly Epicurean.

The style of Minucius as we have already noted is
plain, simple and not at all ostentatious" (16.51, 54).

quemquam philosophia nec eligit"(Epis.44,2), "cuius
 (philosophiae) scientiam nulli dederunt (di), facultatem
 omnibus"(Epis.90,1)⁽¹⁾. "Nos quibus vultus erectus, quibus
 suspectus in caelum datus est"(17.2): "illa vultus nostros
 erexit ad caelum et quidquid magnificum mirumque fecerat,
 videri a suspicientibus voluit"(Epis.94,56). "Quae omnia
 in hoc prodita, ut vitiis hominum quaedam auctoritas
 pararetur"(24.7): "nihil aliud actum est, quam ut pudor
 hominibus peccandi demeretur, si tales deos credidissent"
 (De Vita Beata 26,6). "Non tantum nobis proximus, sed
 infusus est"(32.7): "prope est a te deus, tecum est, intus
 est"(Epis.41,1). "A quo nullum potest esse secretum...
 interest cogitationibus nostris"(32.9): nihil deo clusum
 est. interest animis nostris et cogitationibus mediis
 intervenit"(Epis.83,1). "Omnia quae orta sunt occidere, quae
 facta sunt interire"(34.2): "quicquid coepit et desinit"(Ad
 Polybium De Consolatione 1,1). "Et tamen quis potest pauper
 esse qui non egit, qui non inhiat alieno?... magis pauper
 ille est, qui cum multa habeat plura desiderat"(36.4):
 "non qui parum habet, sed qui plus cupit, pauper est. Quid
 enim refert, quantum illi in arca... si alieno imminet, si
 non acquisita sed acquirenda computat?" (Epis.2,6)
 "Nemo tam pauper potest esse quam natus est"(36.5): "nemo
 tam pauper vivit quam natus est"(De Providentia 6,6).
 Itaque ut aurum ignibus, sic nos discriminibus arguimur"(36.9):
 "ignis aurum probat, miseria fortes viros"(De Providentia 5,10).

(1) Numbers follow edition by Hense.

quoniam philosophia non eligit" (Epist. 4.4.2), "quia
 (philosophia) scientiam nulli debent (11), scientiam
 omnibus" (Epist. 9.1.1).⁽¹⁾ "Non omnes velut oves, quibus
 suspensus in caelum datus est" (17.2): "Illa velut nostras
 erexit ad caelum et paucis nationibus mirumque fecerat,
 videri a sapientibus voluit" (Epist. 9.4.5). "Sane omnia
 in hoc prodita, ut vitia hominum quaedam antro
 pareretur" (24.7): "nihil aliud scire est, quam ut pauper
 hominum peccati demeretur, et talis datus crediderant"
 (De Vita Beata 6.6). "Non tantum nobis proximus, sed
 intus est" (25.7): "prope est a te deus, tecum est, ipse
 est" (Epist. 4.1.1). "A quo nullum potest esse restrictum...
 interest cogitationis nostrae" (25.9): nihil deo cunctum
 est. interest animae nostrae et cogitationis nostrae
 intervenit" (Epist. 8.1.1). "Omnia quae ordo sunt occidere, quae
 facta sunt interire" (34.2): "quidam coepit et desinit" (Ad
 Polybium de Consolatione 1.1). "Et tamen quia potest pauper
 esse qui non erit, qui non imitatur alienum... magis pauper
 ille est, qui cum multa habeat plura desiderat" (35.4):
 "non qui carum habet, sed qui plus cupit, pauper est. Quid
 enim refert, quantum illi in arce... et aliis imminet, et
 non adductis sed alacris componat?" (Epist. 2.6)
 "Nemo tam pauper potest esse quam natus est" (35.5): "nemo
 tam pauper vivit quam natus est" (De Providentia 6.6).
 Itaque ut aurum ignibus, sic nos afflictionibus eruiamus" (36.9):
 "Ipsa aurum probat, vitia vitios" (De Providentia 5.10).

(1) Manuscript folio edited by Henricus.

"Set tam times quam timeris"(37.9): "necesse est multos timeat quem multi timent"(De Ira II, 11,3) and "qui timetur, timet"(Epis.105,4). Other passages showing similarity of thought, too long to quote include: resurrection (34.9-12), Seneca, (Epis.36,10-12); suffering (36.8-37.6), Seneca (De Providentia 2,2-12; 4,6-16;5,9-11 and others); "spectacula"(37.11), Seneca (Epis.7,2-6).

Lucretius

The "De Rerum Natura" of Lucretius is the brilliant work of a devoted follower of Epicurus. In Caecilius' account (5.7-8) of the formation of the universe we find the Epicurean theory of the union of atoms to form all things, animate and inanimate, which Lucretius sets forth so vividly. Caecilius' thought that the chance union of these elements caused the uncertain phases of nature, and that, if a god were ruler, these calamities would not befall the righteous "sine dilectu tangunt loca sacra et profana, homines noxios feriunt et saepe religiosos"(5.9) reechoes Lucretius (De Rerum Natura VI, 417-420):

"Postremo cur sancta deum delubra suasque
discutit infesto praeclaras fulmine sedes
et bene facta deum frangit simulacra suisque
demit imaginibus violento vulnere honorem?"

Octavius refers to the Epicurean view of the destruction of the world, "Et Epicureis de elementorum conflagratione et mundi ruina eadem ipsa sententia est"(34.3); Lucretius in

"Set ten times from the first" (37.9): "necesses est mutatio"
 "first from the first" (De Tr. II, 11, 3) and "qui timetur"
 "first" (Epist. 105.4). Other passages showing similarity of
 thought, too long to quote in full: resurrection (34.9-12),
 Genesis (Epist. 35.10-12); suffering (35.8-37.5), Genesis
 (De Providentia 2.2-12; 4.6-12; 5.9-11 and others);
 "apostasia" (37.11), Genesis (Epist. 7.2-8).

Interpretation

The "De Rerum Natura" of Lucretius is the brilliant
 work of a devoted follower of Epicurus. In Cassiodorus'
 account (2.7-8) of the formation of the universe we find
 the Epicurean theory of the union of atoms to form all things,
 animate and inanimate, which Lucretius sets forth so vividly.
 Cassiodorus' thought that the chance union of these elements
 caused the uncertain phases of nature, and that, if a God
 were ruler, these calamities would not befall the righteous.
 "also direct towards the earth at present, because he has
 turned to escape religion" (2.9) reproaches Lucretius (De
 Rerum Natura VI, 417-420):

"Postquam cum sanctis deis delicta minas
 dicere: infelix proclamat talia sedit
 et hunc tantum frangit simulacrum
 deum: insimulans violenta verba nocentem."

Ovidius refers to the Epicurean view of the formation
 of the world, "Et Epicurus de elementorum conflagratione et
 mundi rursus exordia" (34.5); Lucretius in

his work writes: (De Rerum Natura V, 407-410):

"ignis enim superare potest ubi material
ex infinito sunt corpora plura coorta;
inde cadunt vires aliqua ratione revictae,
aut pereunt res exustae torrentibus auris."

Plato

No other author is mentioned by Minucius as often as Plato. The latter's writings are referred to in regard to divinity (19.14), on the expulsion of Homer from his ideal republic (24.2), concerning the nature of demons (26.12-17.1), on the destruction of the world (34.4), and on the immortality of the soul (34.6). The original of these statements come from Plato's "Timaeus", "Politeia", "Symposium", and "Phaedo". The "Timaeus" (19.14) and "Symposium" (26.12) are mentioned by title and the "Politeia" (24.2) is definitely cited. Yet some scholars have supposed that Minucius did not read Plato's works. Waltzing in an article entitled⁽¹⁾ "Minucius Felix et Platon" has pointed out that almost the entire intermission between the two arguments is taken from Plato without acknowledging the source, even as Cicero was followed for the introduction and frame of the argument. Chapters 38-41 of the "Phaedo" are an interruption of the dialogue and chapter 14 of the "Octavius" follows Plato.

"Maxime cum non laudi set veritati disceptatio vestra nitatur"(14.2): μικρὸν φροντίσαντες Σωκράτους, τῆς δὲ ἀληθείας πολὺ μᾶλλον⁽²⁾ (Ph.40,91C). "Quod plerumque

(1) in Mélanges Boissier, pp. 455-460.

(2) Edition by Geddes. Ph. = Phaedo.

to the *Phaedo* (114.2): *ὁμοίως ὡς ἐν τῷ*
Phaedo (114.2). (2)

"*Minuscule 452* and not *Minuscule 452* is the original text."

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

Chapter 14 of the *Phaedo* (114.2) and the *Phaedo* (114.2).

pro disserentium viribus et eloquentiae potestate etiam perspicuae veritatis condicio mutetur. Id accidere pernotum est auditorum facilitate, qui dum verborum lenocinio a rerum intentionibus avocantur, sine dilectu adsentiuntur dictis omnibus nec a rectis falsa secernunt, nescientes inesse et incredibile verum et verisimile mendacium"(14.3-4): ἔπειδ' ἄν τις πιστεύσῃ λόγῳ τινὶ ἀληθεῖ εἶναι ἄνευ τῆς περὶ τοὺς λόγους τέχνης, καὶ περὶ ὀλίγον ὕστερον αὐτῷ δόξῃ ψευδὲς εἶναι, ἐνίοτε μὲν ὦν, ἐνίοτε δ' οὐκ ὦν, καὶ αὖθις ἕτερος καὶ ἕτερος (Ph.39,90 B). "Sic assidue temeritate decepti culpam iudicis transferunt ad incerti querellam"(14.5): μὴ οὐδενὸς ἄξιοι εἶμεν κριταὶ ἢ καὶ τὰ πράγματα αὐτὰ ἄπιστα ᾗ (Ph.38,88 C) εἰ... μὴ ἑαυτὸν τις αἰτιῶτο μὴδὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀτεχνίαν, ἀλλὰ τελευτῶν διὰ τὸ ἀλγεῖν ἄσμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπώσταιτο (Ph.39,90 D). "Igitur nobis providendum est, ne odio identidem sermonum omnium laboremus ita, ut in execrationem et odium hominum plerique simpliciores efferantur. Nam incaute creduli circumveniuntur ab his quos bonos putaverunt: mox errore consimili iam suspectis omnibus ut improbos metuunt etiam quos optimos sentire potuerunt"(14.6): μὴ γενώμεθα...μισόλογοι, ὥσπερ οἱμισάνθρωποι γινόμενοι. ὥς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἔφῃ, ὅτι ἂν τις μείζον τοῦτον κακὸν πάθοι ἢ λόγους μισήσας. γίγνεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τρόπου μισολογία τε καὶ μισανθρωπία. ἥ τε γὰρ μισανθρωπία ἐνδύεται ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα τινὶ πιστεῦσαι ἄνευ τέχνης, καὶ ἡγγῆσασθαι παντάπασί γε ἀληθὲς εἶναι καὶ ὀρθὴν καὶ πιστὸν τὸν

ἄνθρωπον, ἔπειτα ὀλίγον ὕστερον εὐρεῖν τοῦτον πονηρόν τε καὶ ἀπίστον, καὶ αὖτις ἕτερον· καὶ ὅταν τοῦτο πολλὰ κίς πάθῃ τις, καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων μάλιστα οὐς ἂν ἡγγήσαιτο οἰκειοτάτους τε καὶ ἑταιροτάτους, τελευτῶν δὲ θαμὰ ^{παράπαν} προσκρούων μισεῖ τε πάντας καὶ ἡγρεῖται οὐδενὸς οὐδέν ὕγιες εἶναι τὸ (Ph. 39, 89 D).

"Nos proinde solliciti, quod utrimque omni negotio disseratur et ex altera parte plerumque obscura sit veritas, ex altero latere mira subtilitas quae nonnumquam ubertate dicendi fidem confessae probationis imitetur, diligenter quantum potest singula ponderemus, ut argutias quidem laudare, ea vero quae recta sunt, eligere, probare, suscipere possimus"

(14.7): ὑμεῖς μέντοι, ἂν ἐμοὶ πείθοσθε, σμικρὸν φροντίσαντες Σωκράτους, τῆς δὲ ἀληθείας πολὺ μᾶλλον (Ph. 40, 91 C). From

the last quotation in Greek also comes "cum non disputantis auctoritas, sed disputationis ipsius veritas requiratur" (16.6).

The Poets

Minucius definitely quotes from Vergil, "Mantuanus Maro" (19.2) "nonne apertius, proximius, verius 'principio' ait. 'caelum ac terras' et cetera mundi membra 'spiritus intus alit et infusa mens agitat, inde hominum pecudumque genus' et quicquid aliud animalium? Idem alio loco mentem istam et spiritum deum nominat. Haec enim verba sunt:

deum namque ire per omnes
 terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum,
 unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes"
 (19.2).

ἀποφασίζοντες ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο
 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
 παρὰ τοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο καὶ
 ἀποφασίζοντες ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο
 καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο καὶ
 ἀποφασίζοντες ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο

"The phrase 'ἀποφασίζοντες' is used
 et ex altera parte plerumque obscura est veritas, ex altera
 latera alia ambiguitas quae nonnullis uisitatibus
 fides confectae probationis insitit, diligenter quantum
 potest aliqua ponderamus, ut aptius nuda laudans, et
 vero quae recte sunt, elidere, proferre, associare possumus"
 (14.7): ὁμοῦ καὶ τοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο καὶ
 ἀποφασίζοντες ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο
 the last quotation in Greek also comes "one non dissimilis
 auctoritas, sed disputationalis ipsius veritas resultatur" (16.6).

The Poets

Minus definitively quoted from Vergil, "Mantuanus
 Maro" (19.2) "bonae aeternae, proxima, verus 'principio'
 ait, 'caelum ac terras' et cetera multa membra 'spiritus'
 intus alit et intus mens aeternae, inde homines pecuniamque
 genus, et pulchra alia anxia sunt. Idem alio loco mentem
 intus et spiritus deum nominat. Haec enim verba sunt:
 . . . deum namque ira per omnes
 terrarum fronsque maria caelumque profundus
 ubi nominis genus et pecunia, unde lux et aetas"
 (19.2).

These quotations are taken from Vergil's "Aeneid" and "Georgics":

"Principio caelum ac terram camposque liquentis
lucentemque globum lunae Titaniaque astra
spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.
inde hominum pecudumque genus vitaeque volantum
et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus".
(Aeneid VI, 724-729)

"deum namque ire per omnis
terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum;
hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum".
(Georgics IV, 221-223)

"unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes."
(Aeneid I, 743)

Minucius quotes directly from Terence, "ut comicus sermo est Venerem sine Libero et Cerere frigere"(21.2).

Terence has "sine Cerere et Libero frigit Venus"(Eunuchus IV, 5,6).

Many references to the characters and stories of mythology show that Minucius was well acquainted with the poets. Homer, Vergil and Ovid sang of the fabled gods mentioned in chapters 23 and 24, and the Styx and the world below in chapter 35.

"Praecipue cum a feris beluis hoc differamus, quod illa prona in terramque vergentia nihil nata sint prospicere nisi pabulum, nos, quibus vultus erectus, quibus suspectus in caelum datus est..."(17.2) has a parallel in Ovid as well as other authors already mentioned:

"pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram,
os homini sublime dedit caelumque videre
jussit et erectos ad sidera tollera vultus."
(Metamorphoses, I, 84-86).

These quotations are taken from Vergil's "Aeneid" and

"Georgics":

"Principio caelum ac terras corpore claudens
Incoerens globum limbo circumdare totum
Spiritus intus alit, totumque intus
Sensu repleto, totumque intus
In se habet, totumque intus
Et quae repleto totumque intus
(Aeneid VI, 724-729)

"Sed haec non per omnia
Totaque tellurem tota circumdare totum
Spiritus intus alit, totumque intus
Sensu repleto, totumque intus
(Georgics IV, 221-224)

"unde hominum genus et pecus, unde iugum et ligna."
(Aeneid I, 743)

Virgil quotes directly from Terence, "at comicus

sermo est Terentius alio Libero et Cato tragoedia" (II, 5).

Terence has "sine Cato et Libero tragoedia" (Bomachus IV,

2, 6).

Many references to the characters and stories of
mythology show that Virgil was well acquainted with the
poets. Homer, Vergil and Ovid were of the same age
mentioned in chapters 23 and 24, and the story and the world
below in chapter 25.

"Terentius est a Terentio poetae haec differens, quod
ille prae se fertur ut Terentius veritas nihil nisi compositum
sibi scribit, non quod veritas erant, sed quod haec
in caelo datus est..." (II, 2) has a parallel in Ovid as well
as other authors already mentioned.

"Propter omnia animalia cetera totum
Spiritus intus alit, totumque intus
Sensu repleto, totumque intus
(Metamorphoses, I, 64-66)

Lucan seems to have been in the mind of Minucius at times. "Quando umquam regni societas aut cum fide coepit aut sine cruore discessit?"(18.6). Lucan: "nulla fides regni sociis" (Pharsalia I,92). "Bella toto orbe diffusa sunt, et tam magni imperii duos fortuna non cepit"(18.6). Lucan: "quae totum possidet orbem non cepit fortuna duos" Pharsalia I,110-111).

The irony of Minucius in describing the vanity of the worship of the gods, and the absurd rites practised, has a number of touches suggestive of Juvenal and several of the rites mentioned are given by him. "Miseri in hoc altius tolluntur, ut decidant altius"(37.7) carries the same idea as Juvenal's more concrete figure,

"Excelsae turris tabulata, unde altior esset
Causus et impulsae praeceps inmane ruinae."
(Satire X, 106-107).

The Bible

It is impossible to ascertain how much or in what form Minucius had seen the sacred writings which at a later period became known as the New Testament. Were the gospels and letters of Paul in common circulation in the church at that time, or was the teaching based on the oral tradition? Minucius does not quote from the Bible and it is difficult to prove that he used any of the scriptures.

He knew the outlines, at least of Jewish history, but this knowledge may have been gained entirely from

Juan seems to have been in the mind of Minucius at times. "Quoniam unum tantum deum esse agnoscimus et alia omnia diuinitates" (1.1.6). Lucian: "nulla fides regni caelorum" (Pharsalia 1.92). "Sed et tota omnia diuinitates et sua regna imperia hunc fortuna non capit" (1.1.6). Lucian: "quae totum possidet orbem non capit fortuna deos" (Pharsalia 1.110-111).

The irony of Minucius in describing the vanity of the worship of the gods, and the shared rites considered, has a number of touches suggestive of Juvenal and several of the lines mentioned are given by him. "Miseri in hoc alius sollicitus, ut deus sit alius" (3.7) carries the same idea as Juvenal's more concrete figure.

"Excellens turris fabulosa, turris aëther aëther
Caena et lapideae turris immane rotas."
(Satire 3, 103-107).

The Bible

It is impossible to ascertain how much or in what form Minucius had seen the sacred writings which at a later period became known as the New Testament. Were the gospels and letters of Paul in common circulation in the church at that time, or was the teaching based on the oral tradition? Minucius does not quote from the Bible and it is difficult to prove that he used any of the scriptures.

We know the outlines, at least of Jewish history, but this knowledge may have been gained entirely from

authors like Flavius Josephus and Antonius Julianus to whom he refers his pagan friends for further information.

Many Biblical passages might be given bearing upon the beliefs and practices of the Christians which Minucius defended. I will quote only a few, those which show an almost startling conformity in idea or phraseology with the language of the New Testament. Assuming that Minucius would have access to and make use of the Greek (since Latin translations at that time were crude), quotation will be in that form. "Dum aras extruunt etiam ignotis numinibus" (6.2); εὖρον καὶ βωμὸν ἐν ᾧ ἐπεγέγραπτο ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩ ΘΕΩ (Acts 17,23). "Vellem tamen sciscitari, utrumne cum ⁽¹⁾ corporibus an absque corporibus, et corporibus quibus, ipsisne an innovatis resurgatur" (11.7): πῶς ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί; ποίῳ δὲ σώματι ἔρχονται; (I Cor. 15,35). "Ne ille miserabilis, cuius in homine mortali spes omnis innititur" (29.3); εἰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ ἐν χριστῷ ἡλπιότες ἐσμέν μόνον, ἑλεεινότεροι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐσμέν (I Cor. 15,19) "Cum... sit dei homo simulacrum" (32.1): εἰκὼν θεοῦ (I Cor. 11,7; see also Gen. 1,26-27). "Templum quod ei extruam, cum totus hic mundus eius opere fabricatus eum capere non possit?" (32.1): ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου· ποῖον οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετέ μοι, λέγει Κύριος... οὐχὶ ἡ χεὶρ μοι ἐποίησεν ταῦτα πάντα; (Acts 7, 42-50). "Ut consortes fidei, ut spei coheredes" (31.8): ἵνα... κληρονόμοι γενηθῶμεν κατ' ἐλπίδα (Tit. 3.7), ὥς καὶ συνκληρονόμοις χάριτος ζωῆς (I Pet. 3,7).

(1) "an absque corporibus" is not in codex.

"Non tantum sub illo agimus, sed et cum illo, ut prope dixerim, vivimus"(32.9): ἔν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἑσμέν (Acts 17,28). "A deo aeternis floribus vividam (coronam) sustinemus"(38.4): φανερωθέντος τοῦ Ἀρχιποίμενος κομιεῖσθε τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον (I Pet. 5,4).

Tertullian

Next to Cicero the work of Minucius has more in common with that of his contemporary Tertullian than of any other writer. We find in these two apologists much the same method of argumentation, a repetition of the same ideas, examples and expressions. Tertullian's apology is addressed to the magistrates of the Roman empire and consequently does not strive to convert but to show the innocency of Christians in regard to the legal charges brought against them, and the injustice of the criminal procedures against them, of which Minucius makes scant reference. Tertullian explains the significance of certain doctrines and practices in the Christian church on which Minucius is silent. Tertullian is much more full in treatment, more vigorous, more ironical than Minucius. In spite of these differences in aim and personality these two authors have so much in common that it is often stated that one or the other is a copyist. This is not necessarily true as each has so thoroughly made the material his own and there is considerable difference in arrangement and form of expression. The similar passages are

"Non tantum sed et cum illo, ut prope
 dixerit, vivimus" (32.9): ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ νικηθήσε-
 καὶ ἐκεῖν (Acts 17, 32). "A deo aeterna Floribus vivamus
 (coronam) astatemus" (38.4): φερέμεθα τὸν ἄγιο καὶ
 κομίσαι ἐκ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐξ ἡμῶν I Pet. 5, 4).

Tertullian

Next to Cicero the work of Minucius has more in
 common with that of his contemporary Tertullian than of any
 other writer. We find in these two apologists much the
 same method of argumentation, a repetition of the same ideas,
 examples and expressions. Tertullian's apology is addressed
 to the magistrates of the Roman empire and consequently does
 not strive to convert but to show the innocence of Christians
 in regard to the legal charges brought against them, and
 the injustice of the criminal procedures against them, of
 which Minucius makes scant reference. Tertullian explains
 the significance of certain doctrines and practices in the
 Christian church on which Minucius is silent. Tertullian
 is much more full in treatment, more vigorous, more ironical
 than Minucius. In spite of these differences in aim and
 personality these two authors have so much in common that
 it is often stated that one or the other is a copyist. This
 is not necessarily true as each has so thoroughly read the
 material his own and there is considerable difference in
 arrangement and form of expression. The similar passages are

so long that in most instances only chapter and section numbers will be given. Some of the sentences which show the closest resemblance will be quoted in full.

"Hic non videri potest: visu clarior est; nec
(1)
comprehendi: tactu purior est; nec aestimari: sensibus maior est, infinitus, inensus et soli sibi tantus, quantus est, notus. Nobis vero ad intellectum pectus angustum est, et ideo sic eum digne aestimamus, dum inaestimabilem dicimus. Eloquar quemadmodum sentio: magnitudinem dei qui se putat nosse, minuit; qui non vult minuire, non novit"(18.8-9). "Invisibilis est, etsi videatur; incomprehensibilis, etsi per gratiam repraesentetur; inaestimabilis, etsi humanis sensibus aestimetur. Ideo verus et tantus est. Ceterum quod videri communiter, quod comprehendere, quod aestimari potest, minus est et oculis quibus occupatur, et manibus quibus contaminatur, et sensibus quibus invenitur: quod vero inensum est, soli sibi notum est. Hoc quod est, deum aestimari facit, dum aestimari non capit. Ita eum vis
(2)
magnitudinis et notum hominibus obicit et ignotum"(Apo. 17.2-3).

"Audio vulgus: cum ad caelum manus tendunt, nihil aliud quam 'deum' dicunt, et 'deus magnus est', et 'deus verus est' et 'si deus dederit'. Vulgi iste naturalis sermo est an Christiani confitentis oratio?" (18.11) "'Deus bonus et magnus', et 'quod deus dederit' omnium vox est. Iudicem quoque contestatur illum 'deus videt', et 'deo commendo' et

(1) "tactu purior est" has been restored by Canterus and Ursinus from Cyprian's "Quod idola dei non sint."
(2) Apo = Apologeticus. I use the text of Oehler in the Loeb Classical Library.

no long than in most instances only chapter and section numbers will be given. Some of the sentences which show the closest resemblance will be quoted in full.

"Hic non videtur: vix clarior est; nec

(1)

comprehendit: tamen prior est; nec sententia: sensibus

major est. Intuitus, immensus et soli sibi fatus, planities

est, notus. Nobis vero ad intellegendum pedes angustum

est, et ideo sic cum aliis sententiam. Dum insensibiliter

distant. Rhodanus quatuordecim sententia: magnitudinem dei

qui se putat nosse, minuit: qui non vult minuire, non

novit"(16-8-9). "Invisibilis est, et alii videntur; incommensurabilis

alibi, et alii per graviam representantur; inextinguibilis, et alii

humana sensibus sentitur. Ideo versus et tantus est.

Ceterum quod videtur communiter, quod comprehendit, quod

sentiri potest, minus est et oculis quibus occupatur.

et multis quibus comprehenditur, et sensibus quibus invenitur;

quod vero immensum est, soli sibi notum est. Hoc quod est,

homini sentiri facit, dum sentiri non capit. Ita cum vis

(2)

magnitudinis et hominem hominibus obicit et ignotum"(Apo. 17-2-3)

"Audio vulgare: cum ad caelum exiens loquuntur, nihil

aliud quam 'Deus', dicunt, et 'Deus' veritas est, et 'Deus' veritas

est, et 'Deus' fidelis'. Vixit iste naturalis homo est

in Christiani confitentis oratione"(18.11) "Deus bonus est

magnus', et 'quod Deus fidelis' omnia vox est. Indidem

quodam contactatur illis 'Deus videt', et 'Deus commendo' et

'deus mihi reddet'. O testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae! Denique pronuntians haec non ad capitolium, sed ad caelum respicit"(Apo.17.5-6).

Tertullian (Apo. 10.3-11) discusses the humanity of the gods as exemplified by Saturn more fully than Minucius (21.4-8). The making and consecration of images is developed in quite a different way in Minucius (22.1-6) from Tertullian (12.2-7): Minucius uses these illustrations to show the absurdity of stone and wood becoming gods and the impotence of these statues; Tertullian makes them serve his sarcasm regarding the persecution of the Christians. "Nec sentit suae nativitatis iniuriam, ita ut nec postea de vestra veneratione culturam"(22.4). "Sed plane non sentiunt has iniurias et contumelias fabricationis suae dei vestri, sicut nec obsequia"(Apo.12.6). "Mures, hirundines, milvi non sentire eos sciunt... araneae vero faciem eius intexunt"(22.6). "Quas milvi et mures, et araneae intellegunt"(Apo. 12.7).

Homer's sport of the gods in the Trojan war is mentioned by both authors, Minucius (24.1-8), Tertullian(14.2-6). I will quote some of the identical characters in both; however, each writer includes other deities not given by the other. "Sauciavit Venerem, Martem vinxit, vulneravit, fugavit. Iovem narrat Briareo liberatum, ne a diis ceteris ligaretur, et Sarpedonem filium, quoniam morti non poterit eripere, cruentis imbris flere"(24.3-4). "Quanta invenio ludibria!...Venerem humana sagitta sauciata... Martem tredecim

'deus enim reddebat'. O testimonium animae naturaliter
Christianae! Deinde promissiones habet non ad evanescendum
sed ad causam respicit"(Apo. 17. 5-6).

Tertullian (Apo. 10. 3-11) associates the humanity

of the gods as exemplified by Saturn more fully than
Minotaurus (21. 4-8). The making and conservation of images
is developed in quite a different way in Minotaurus (22. 1-6)
from Tertullian (12. 2-7): Minotaurus uses these illustrations
to show the absurdity of stone and wood becoming gods and

the importance of these statues: Tertullian makes them
serve his argument regarding the persecution of the Christians.
"Nec tantis esse naturae intuitum, ut ut nec potest de
vasta veneratione cultus"(22. 4). "Sed plane non sentiant
has imagines et conformationes fabulaticas esse vel vestiri,
sicut nec opacitas"(Apo. 12. 6). "Verum, divinitus, cum non
sentire nec cogitare... deus vero facit etiam inanimata"(22. 6).
"Quae vivit et sentit, et mensura intelligit"(Apo. 12. 7).

Roman's report of the gods in the Trojan war is
mentioned by both authors. Minotaurus (24. 7-8), Tertullian (14.
2-3). I will quote some of the identical characters in

both; however, each writer includes other details not given
by the other. "Sentientis Venerem, Martem vivit, vulneribus
fugavit. Iovem natum Britas liberatum, ne a dis certaret
ligeretur, et Sarpedonem Tilius, quoniam mortui non poterat
corpore, circumdantia imbribus lavat"(24. 3-4). "Quanta invictis
Indignitas!... Venerem humanae animae sanctitatem... Martem crepitantem

mensibus in vinculis paene consumptum, Iovem, ne eandem vim a ceteris caelitibus experiretur, opera cuiusdam monstri liberatum, et nunc flentem Sarpedonis casum"(Apo.14.2-3). "Et Apollo Admeto pecus pascit. Laomedonti vero muros Neptunus instituit, nec mercedem operis infelix structor accepit"(24.5). "Hic Apollinem Admeto regi pascendis pecoribus addicit, ille Neptuni structorias operas Laomedonti locat"(Apo.14.4).

The foreign gods whose people were conquered by the Romans are treated ironically by both Minucius (25.9) and Tertullian (Apo.25.3-9), but there is a wide difference in the development of the idea. The progression of empires during history, too, is based upon the same illustrations by the two writers, yet the account of Minucius (25.12) is much less elaborated than that of Tertullian (Apo.26.1-3). That the boasted piety of Rome rested upon the sacrilege of war is more fully expressed by Minucius (25.1-7) than by Tertullian (Apo.25.12-15). The subject of demons is discussed rather fully by both as regards their nature, the testimony of the philosophers, their working through oracles, magic and affliction, corruption of the truth, and the power of Christians over them: Minucius (26.7-27.8), Tertullian (Apo.22.1-23.19). Many phrases and ideas are closely similar.

The relation of the Christian to the law is not expanded by Minucius but several of his sentences bear

ideas identical with Tertullian's. "... ut Christianus reus nec erubesceret nec timeret, et unum solummodo, quod non ante fuerit, paeniteret"(28.2) "Christianus vero quid simile? Neminem pudet, neminem paenitet, nisi plane retro non fuisse"(Apo.1.12). "Et si qui infirmior malo pressus et victus Christianum se negasset, favebamus ei, quasi eierato nomine iam omnia facta sua illa negatione purgaret"(28.4). "Vis ergo neget se nocentem, ut eum facias innocentem, et quidem invitum iam, nec de praeterito reum"(Apo.2.17). "Denique de vestro numero carcer exaestuat, Christianus ibi nullus nisi aut reus suae religionis aut profugus"(35.6). "De vestris semper aestuat carcer... Nemo illic Christianus nisi plane tantum Christianus, aut si et aliud, iam non Christianus" (Apo.44.3).

The argument against the worship of the head of an
 (1)
 ass by the Christians follows similar lines: Minucius (28.7-8), Tertullian (Apo.16.1-5; 24.7). The forms of the cross in nature and in the work of man show many of the same illustrations: Minucius (29.6-8), Tertullian (Apo.16.6-8). The turning of the charges against the Christians onto their

(1) This fantastic charge against the Christians is illustrated by a graffito found in the palace of Caligula where a crude sketch of the crucifixion shows the head as that of an ass. A man is shown in worship with this legend: ΑΜΕ=ΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΕΤΕ (for σέβεται) ΘΕΟΝ. See Lanciani, Rodolfo, Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries, p. 122, with plate opposite. Aube, op.cit. p. 96, discusses the time relationship of this graffito and the work of Minucius.

accusers contains many of the same instances: murder of babe, Minucius (30.1-6), Tertullian (Apo.9.1-13); purity of the Christians, Minucius (31.1-5), Tertullian (Apo.9.16-20); recognition by sign, Minucius (31.8), Tertullian (Apo.39.7-8). The relation of the Jews to God is explained by Minucius (33.2-5) and Tertullian (Apo.21.4-6) with differing details but the same point. The argument for resurrection, Minucius (34.6-12), Tertullian (Apo.48.1-13) and eternal punishment for the wicked, Minucius (34.12-35.3), Tertullian (Apo.48.13-15) are much alike. The persecution of the Christians and their endurance is treated quite differently by Minucius (37.1-5) than by Tertullian (50.1-16). The origin of the games and shows is renounced by both for the same reasons: Minucius (37.11-12), Tertullian (Apo.38.4). The disuse of flowers in garlands, Minucius (38.2-3), Tertullian (Apo.42.6) contains a bit of jest common to both authors, "Sane quod caput non ronamus, ignoscite: auram bonam floris naribus ducere, non co-occipitio capillisne solemus haurire"(38.2). "Sed etsi in coronam coactis, nos coronam naribus novimus, viderint qui per capillum odorantur"(Apo.42.6).

How are we to explain these closely similar passages and identical expressions? Did Minucius copy from Tertullian, or was Tertullian the copyist? or again, did both of them take their material from some common source?

Let us consider the latter question first. It has
(1)
been suggested that Proclus was that common source upon

(1) Monceaux op.cit. I, p. 469.

been suggested that the source was that common source upon

(1)

Let us consider the latter question first. It has

take their material from some common source?

or was Terrell the copyist, or again, did both of them

and identical expressions? Did Minnie copy from Terrell,

how and we to explain these closely similar passages

per capita of "the" (App. 42.8).

common source, not common native language, identical but

possible evidence of "the" (App. 42.8). "The" also in

common, identical: common native language, not common

a list of text common to both authors, "The" also in

language, identical (App. 42.8). The class of flowers in

(App. 42.8). Terrell (App. 42.8). The class of flowers in

and above is mentioned by both for the same reasons: Minnie

1-2) Chas. Terrell (App. 42.8). The origin of the name

their evidence is based upon the difference by Minnie (App.

15) and such alike. The derivation of the O'Brien and

for the word, Minnie (App. 42.8). Terrell (App. 42.8)

(App. 42.8). Terrell (App. 42.8) and several examples

the same point. The argument for resurrection, Minnie

2-2) and Terrell (App. 42.8) with different details but

The relation of the two to God is explained by Minnie (App.

resurrection by such. Minnie (App. 42.8). Terrell (App. 42.8)

Terrell (App. 42.8). Terrell (App. 42.8)

Minnie (App. 42.8). Terrell (App. 42.8). Terrell (App. 42.8)

accounts contain many of the same incidents: murder of John

which both drew. Since we possess no work of that author and do not even know that he wrote an apology, this is a baseless conjecture. Apollonius is another hypothesis.

(1)
Monceaux shows that Apollonius, after accusation, pled his case as a man trained in logic and rhetoric before the prefect, himself using the word ἀπολογία in the usual sense of "defense". As a result of this, Jerome attributed to Apollonius a veritable apology for Christianity. The second day after his trial Apollonius was executed. The "Acta" of Apollonius has been found in Greek and Armenian. A comparison of this with the "Apologeticus" of Tertullian and the (2)
"Octavius" of Minucius shows the following similar passages:

Tertullian (14); Apollonius (19 and 41)

Minucius (28); Apollonius (18 and 21)

Minucius (32); Apollonius (8 and 44)

Minucius (37); Apollonius (26).

These deal with anecdotes of Socrates, references to idols, worship and courage of Christians, which are subjects common to all apologists of the second and third century. In these there is nothing in detail of expression to show that Tertullian or Minucius borrowed from Apollonius' defense. Indeed, none of the parallel developments of Tertullian and Minucius are found in the "Acta". It is strange that any common source should be pillaged not only by Tertullian and (3)
Minucius but also Lactantius and should so totally disappear in name and work from the history and memory of man.

(1) Monceaux, op. cit. I, pp. 469-472.

(2) Ibid., p. 472.

(3) Waltzing, "Minucius Felix et Platon", p. 456.

which both drew. Since we possess no work of that author and do not even know what he wrote an apology, this is a baseless conjecture. Apollonius is another hypothesis. (1)

Monseaux shows that Apollonius, after securing, cited his case as a man trained in logic and rhetoric before the prefect, himself using the word *apologia* in the usual sense of "defense". As a result of this, Jerome attributed to Apollonius a veritable apology for Christianity. The second day after his trial Apollonius was executed. The "Acts" of Apollonius has been found in Greek and Armenian. A comparison of this with the "Apologues" of Tertullian and the "Octavius" of Minucius show the following similar passages:

(2)

Tertullian (14): Apollonius (19 and 41)
 Minucius (28): Apollonius (18 and 21)
 Minucius (32): Apollonius (9 and 44)
 Minucius (37): Apollonius (26).

These deal with anecdotes of behavior, references to idols, worship and courage of Christians, which are subjects common to all apologists of the second and third century. In these there is nothing in terms of expression to show that Tertullian or Minucius borrowed from Apollonius' defense. Indeed, none of the parallel developments of Tertullian and Minucius are found in the "Acts". It is strange that any common source should be utilized not only by Tertullian and Minucius but also Lactantius and should so totally disappear in name and work from the history and memory of man.

(1)

Ebert, as a result of study of the common matter in the two authors, claims that Minucius is the original. He calls attention to the extensive borrowing of Tertullian from Iraeneus in the treatise against the Valentinians. For the test of priority in the work of Tertullian and Minucius, Ebert proceeds on this basis: Minucius may be said to have almost worked with Cicero open before him, but there is no evidence that Tertullian, when he wrote his apology, had recently read that author. Examine then whether the common passages contain traces of Cicero. If they do, it may be safely asserted that Minucius derived them directly from Cicero, and Tertullian from Minucius. If not, it is incredible that Tertullian could borrow so extensively from Minucius without appropriating any of that large portion of Minucius which follows Cicero. Ebert concludes that Tertullian does show such instances of Ciceronian origin, and consequently that the "Octavius" antedates the "Apologeticus".⁽²⁾ Salmon reports, however, that the result of such comparison establishes the opposite opinion as the traces of Cicero are not numerous and that only one case seems closely derived from Cicero through Minucius. In this Minucius (7.3) takes the account of Castor and Pollux announcing the victory of Lake Regillus from Cicero (D.N.D.II,2,6) and later in his book (27.4) shows that this and other marvels were the work of demons. Tertullian also ascribes this to the work of demons but adds other marvels not taken from Cicero or Minucius. So he does

(1) See Salmon, op.cit. p. 922.

(2) Ibid. p. 922-923.

There, as a result of study of the common matter

in the two authors, claims that Minucius is the original.

He calls attention to the extensive borrowing of Terentian from Livianus in the treatise against the Valentianus. For

the fact of priority in the work of Terentian and Minucius,

Robert proceeds on this basis: Minucius may be said to have

almost worked with Livianus open before him, but there is no

evidence that Terentian, when he wrote his apology, had

recently read that author. Examine then whether the common

passages contain traces of Cicero. If they do, it may

be safely asserted that Minucius derived them directly from

Cicero, and Terentian from Minucius. If not, it is

impossible that Terentian could borrow so extensively from

Minucius without appropriating any of that large portion of

Minucius which follows Cicero. Robert concludes that Terentian

does show such instances of Ciceronian origin, and consequently

(2)

that the "Oration" contains the "Apology". Salmon

reports, however, that the result of such comparison established

the opposite opinion as the traces of Cicero are not numerous

and that only one case seems clearly derived from Cicero

through Minucius. In this Minucius (V.7) takes the account

of Gensor and Polix announcing the victory of Lake Regillus

from Cicero (D. V. D. II, 5, 6) and later in his book (27.4)

shows that this and other marvels were the work of demons.

Terentian also ascribes this to the work of demons but adds

other marvels not taken from Cicero or Minucius. So he does

not appear to copy anyone directly, probably merely drawing upon the common traditions. In the story of Simonides and Hiero, Minucius (13.4) clearly copies Cicero (D.N.D.I, 22, 60). But Tertullian refers to the same story under the names of Thales and Croesus (Apo. 46, 8). If he follows Minucius, why the change of names? If he follows a popular story such a discrepancy is easily explained, for famous sayings and exploits often come to be ascribed to a number of well-known characters.

(1)

On the other hand, Schultze introduces instances to show that Minucius makes use of Tertullian's work. In ascribing atheism to Epicurus "deos aut otiosos fingit aut nullos" (19.8) is explained by reference to Tertullian's "(deum) otiosum... et ut ita dixerim, neminem humanis rebus" (Apo. 47, 6), assuming that Minucius misunderstood Tertullian. More probable, however, is it that Minucius borrowed from Cicero's "nullos esse deos Epicuro videri" (D.N.D.I, 44, 123). Schultze gives other instances of what he believes are Minucius' misinterpretations of Tertullian's work. He also calls attention to the fact that Minucius has coincidences with other writings of Tertullian besides the "Apologeticus", and that the changes in using these works are of the same type as the changes from Cicero's. Cruttwell (2) brings out the point that the most striking of Tertullian's arguments, that of the "testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae" (Apo. 17, 6)

(1) See Salmon, op. cit. p. 923.

(2) Op. cit. II, p. 614, note.

not appear to copy anyone directly, probably merely drawing upon the common traditions. In the story of Simonides and Hiero, Minucius (13.4) clearly copies Cicero (D.N.D.I, 22, 50). But Tertullian refers to the same story under the names of Thales and Croesus (Apo. 46, 8). If he follows Minucius, why the change of names? It he follows a popular story such a discrepancy is easily explained, for famous sayings and exploits often come to be ascribed to a number of well-known characters.

(1)
On the other hand, Schmitz introduces instances to show that Minucius makes use of Tertullian's work. In ascribing aelian to Epicurus "deus aut otiosus fingit aut nullus" (19.8) is explained by reference to Tertullian's "deum otiosum... et ut ita dixerim, remittit humana rebus" (Apo. 47, 6), assuming that Minucius misunderstood Tertullian. More probable, however, is it that Minucius borrowed from Cicero's "nullus esse deus Epicuro videtur" (D.N.D.I, 44, 123). Schmitz gives other instances of what he believes are Minucius' misinterpretations of Tertullian's work. He also calls attention to the fact that Minucius has coincidences with other writings of Tertullian besides the "Apologeticus", and that the changes in name where works are of the same type as the changes from Cicero's. Crutwell brings out the point that the most striking of Tertullian's arguments, that of the "testimonium animae naturae" (Apo. 17, 6)

(1) See Salmon, op. cit. p. 923.
(2) Op. cit. II, p. 314, note.

is embodied in the "Octavius" (18.11) but apparently with little sense of its force. Whereas, not only does Tertullian express it with vividness but he has developed the idea in a treatise. Yet that in no wise indicates that he was the (1) originator of the idea. Monceaux concludes that Tertullian is the source. He bases his conclusion largely on the difference in temperament of the two authors. Tertullian is a genius, powerful and fertile, who gives evidence of originality and invention in a hundred ways. Minucius is a man of culture, a writer of skill and ability, a clever reproducer, without a truly original idea. There is nothing in Minucius which is not in Tertullian but the reverse is not true. The "Apologeticus" is twenty times richer than the "Octavius". So logically the borrower would be evident- the poorer of the two. One is a man of action who writes to perform, who follows his temperament in passion and anger. If he takes something it is facts from which he draws his arguments; not copying sentences. The other is a lawyer who imitates everybody. His book is not a work of circumstance but a carefully developed treatise written at leisure for cultured people. If Tertullian followed Minucius it would be somewhat difficult to explain why he never mentioned Minucius since he cited other pagan and Christian authors, but Minucius rarely indicates his sources. Furthermore common passages are in the manner of Tertullian, attacks on idolatry,

(1) Op. cit. p. 477.

is embodied in the "Octaviana" (18.11) but apparently with
little sense of its force. Whereas, not only does Tertulian
express it with vividness but he has developed the idea in
a treatise. Yet this in no wise indicates that he was the
originator of the idea. However, (1)
it is the source. He bases his conclusion largely on the
difference in viewpoint of the two authors. Tertulian is
a genuine, powerful and fertile, who gives evidence of
originality and invention in a hundred ways. Minucius is a
man of culture, a writer of skill and ability, a clever
rephraser, without a truly original idea. There is nothing
in Minucius which is not in Tertulian but the reverse is
not true. The "Apologues" is a story rather than
the "Octaviana". So logically the story would be evident
the power of the fact. One is a man of action who writes to
perform, who follows his conviction in action and not
it is taken something it is facts from which he draws his
arguments; not copying sentences. The other is a lawyer who
imitates everybody. His book is not a work of circumstance
but a carefully developed treatise written at leisure for
cultured people. If Tertulian followed Minucius it would
be somewhat difficult to explain why he never mentioned
Minucius since he cited other pagan and Christian authors,
but Minucius rarely indicates his sources. Furthermore common
passages are in the manner of Tertulian, attacks on idolatry,

biting raillery of pagan worship, native to his invective but in contrast to the delicacy of Minucius. Minucius even apologizes for "impetus"(8.3) and "indignationis eius tumor" (14.1). And yet Monceaux himself admits that, curiously, Minucius left all that was truly new and original in the "Apologeticus", culling only a host of details and even sentences, while he retained only the commonplaces of apology already made familiar by the Greek apologists of the second century.

So this problem of originality in the two works continues to intrigue the mind. Any proposed solution based on some phase of the evidence is refuted by other details. In the midst of this confusion it seems as probable as any suggestion that the similarities may result from the use of oral traditions rather than written sources. This, too, accounts for the discrepancies and the alleged misinterpretations. We have already noted a number of different sources from which Minucius might have gained the thought of the contrast of man with animal in regard to form and spiritual capacities (17.2). If the works of Cicero and Ovid had not been preserved we might have concluded that Minucius borrowed this directly from Seneca whom we would credit with the origination of the idea. So the sources of Tertullian and Minucius may have been common matter in the defense of the faith, not published and possibly not before gathered into

biting railway of oceanic origin, relative to his investigation
in contrast to the theory of Winitz. Winitz even
apologizes for "Lapetus" (S. 3) and "indignation" also "Lapetus"
(S. 3). And yet Winitz himself admits that, curiously,
Winitz felt all that was truly new and original in the
"Apollonian", calling only a host of details and even
sentences, while he retained only the commonplaces of
apology already made familiar by the Greek apologists of the
second century.

So this problem of originality in the two works
continues to intrigue the mind. Any proposed solution based
on some basis of the evidence is related by other details.
In the light of this contention it seems as probable as
any suggestion that the similarities may result from the
use of oral traditions rather than written sources. This, too,
accounts for the discrepancies and the alleged discrepancies.
None. We have already noted a number of different sources
from which Winitz might have gained the thought of the
contrast of man with animal in regard to fear and selfish
instincts (S. 3). If the words of Hesiod and Ovid had not
been preserved we might have concluded that Winitz had borrowed
this directly from Hesiod whom we would credit with the
originality of the idea. So the sources of Terentian and
Winitz may have been common matter in the history of the
Latin, not published and possibly not before gathered into

written form. Each bit of argument found efficacious in defense or conviction by any one individual would be carefully treasured in those days when life hung suspended for one's belief.' The duplicated ideas in Tertullian and Minucius may be the stock expressions current in their day. The defense of the faith grew gradually, like Homer and the ballads of Robin Hood, and, shall we say, culminated in the written pleas of Minucius at Rome and Tertullian in Africa.

Cyprian

The first ten chapters of the fifteen in the short treatise "Quod idola dii non sint" written about 245 A.D.
(1)
by S. Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus are largely a transcription of the arguments of Octavius in regard to the gods commonly worshiped by the people. The last five chapters of Cyprian's work, explaining the position of Christ in the Christian belief, cannot be compared with Minucius' views, as this phase of his religion was not developed by the latter in his book. For that subject Cyprian drew from the work of Tertullian. In two-thirds of his book, however, there is hardly a sentence which cannot be traced to Minucius; not only the thought but also the vocabulary and phraseology are in large part reproduced.

The first chapter of "Quod idola dii non sint" shows the gods worshiped by the people to have been kings from whose "images" after death, statues were made and for whom

(1) ed. by Guilielmus Hartel in Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 17-31. The genuineness of this treatise has been questioned. see Monceaux op.cit. II, pp. 266-270.

written form. Each bit of argument found efficacious in defense or conviction by any one individual would be carefully treasured in those days when life hung suspended for one's belief. The duplicated ideas in Tertullian and Minucius may be the stock expressions current in their day. The defense of the faith grew gradually, like Homer and the ballads of Robin Hood, and, shall we say, culminated in the written phrase of Minucius at Rome and Tertullian in Africa.

Cyprian

The first ten chapters of the fifteen in the short treatise "Quod idola dii non sint" written about 245 A.D. (1) by S. Thascius Cyprianus are largely a transcription of the arguments of Octavius in regard to the gods commonly worshiped by the people. The last five chapters of Cyprian's work, explaining the position of Christ in the Christian belief, cannot be compared with Minucius' views, as this phase of his religion was not developed by the latter in his book. For that subject Cyprian drew from the work of Tertullian. In two-thirds of his book, however, there is hardly a sentence which cannot be traced to Minucius; not only the thought but also the vocabulary and phraseology are in large part reproduced.

The first chapter of "Quod idola dii non sint" shows the gods worshiped by the people to have been kings from whose "images" after death, statues were made and for whom

(1) ed. by Guilielmus Hartel in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 17-51. The genuineness of this treatise has been questioned. See Monceaux *op. cit.* II, pp. 256-270.

temples were set up and rites instituted. In the same way Octavius explains the origin of the gods, concluding with the striking thought, "sacra facta sunt quae fuerant adsumpta solacia" (20.5). Cyprian writes, "inde posteris facta sunt sacra, quae primis fuerant adsumpta solacia." The second chapter gives instances of the deification of mortals.

Melicertes and Leucothea are not mentioned by Minucius but the rest of the first sentence in Cyprian is taken word for word from the "Octavius" (23.7). The remainder of the chapter uses Minucius (21.5-6.8). The third chapter has two citations from Minucius (21.3 and 11) with the omission or insertion of a few unimportant words, regarding Alexander's statement of the gods, and the sarcastic query concerning the birth of the gods. Chapter four, in which eleven native gods and five adopted objects of worship are discussed is, except for the last sentence, almost a direct copy of Minucius (25.7-9) with the insertion of information about Romulus from (21.9) and (25.2). In chapter five Cyprian explains the far-reaching rule of various peoples at different times as not won by piety in religion (non mente) but by fate (sed sorte). In the speech of Octavius (25.12) the same holding of power by nations is mentioned but attributed to God (deo dispensante). The details of the beginning nation of Rome show unity of thought but diversity of expression when compared with the words of Octavius (25.2-3). The proof of the falsity of

temples were set up and rites instituted. In the same way
Octavius explains the origin of the gods, concluding with
the striking thought, "sunt facta sunt quae fuerant adempta
solacia" (22.5). Ovidian writes, "fide postea facta sunt
facta, quae prius fuerant adempta solacia." The second
chapter gives instances of the deletion of certain
Mithras and Janus are not mentioned by Minucius but the
rest of the first sentence in Ovidian is taken word for word
from the "Octavius" (22.7). The remainder of the chapter
uses Minucius (21.5-6.8). The third chapter has two citations
from Minucius (21.5 and 11) with the omission or insertion
of a few unimportant words, repeating Alexander's statement
of the gods, and the sarcastic query concerning the birth of
the gods. Chapter four, in which eleven native gods and five
adopted objects of worship are discussed is, except for the
last sentence, almost a direct copy of Minucius (22.7-9) with
the insertion of information about Romulus from (21.9) and
(22.8). In chapter five Ovidian explains the far-reaching
rule of various peoples at different times as not won by
piety in religion (non uerbo) but by fate (sed sorte). In
the speech of Octavius (22.12) the same holding of power
by nations is mentioned but attributed to God (deo dispensante).
The details of the beginning nation of Rome show unity of
thought but diversity of expression when compared with the
words of Octavius (22.2-3). The proof of the falsity of

auspices and augury follows Minucius (26.3-4) with the change of a few words. Chapters six and seven deal with demons and follow Minucius closely in ideas and, at times, in expression. Compare Cyprian's "spiritus sunt insinceri et vagi, qui posteaquam terrenis vitiis inmersi sunt et a vigore caelesti terreno contagio recesserunt, non desinunt perditum perdere et depravati errorem pravitatis infundere" with Minucius, "spiritus sunt insinceri, vagi, a caelesti vigore terrenis labibus et cupiditatibus degravati. Isti igitur spiritus posteaquam simplicitatem substantiae suae onusti et inmersi vitiis perdiderunt, ad solacium calamitatis suae non desinunt perditum iam perdere et depravati errorem pravitatis infundere et alienati a deo inductis pravis religionibus a deo segregare" (26.8). The knowledge of the poets concerning these demons, Socrates' confession of control by a demon, the conception of Orestes and Plato in regard to angels is mentioned from Minucius (26.9 and 11). Chapter seven continues to reproduce the argument of Octavius (27.1-2 and 7-8). Identical phrases from the two authors follow: "spiritus sub statu et imaginibus consecrates delitescunt... extorum fibras animant, avium volatus gubernant, sortes regunt, oracula efficiunt... nam et falluntur et fallunt... vitam turbant, somnos inquietant, ... membra distorquent ut ad cultum sui cogant, ut nidore altarium... saginati remissis, quae constrinxerant, curasse videantur", "adiurati per

(1) These verbs are subjunctive in Cyprian as the result of an intervening subjunctive.

(2) Order of words slightly different in Minucius.

(3) Cf. Min. II, pp. 100-101.

deum verum... vel exiliunt⁽¹⁾ statim, vel evanescunt
gradatim, prout fides patientis adiuvat aut gratia curantis⁽²⁾
adspirat", "... ut nos odisse incipiant homines antequam
nosse, ne cognitos aut imitari possint aut damnare non
possint." Chapter eight brings proof of monotheism, which
chapter, after an introductory statement of the fact, follows
the evidence of Minucius (18.6-7) therefor, preserving even
his rhetorical question. Chapter nine in Cyprian's work
continues Octavius' argument in 28. The exactness of quotation
has led Canterus, Ursinus and Waltzing to restore "tactu
purior est" to the text of Minucius (18.8). The temple and
abode of God is based upon Minucius (32.1-2); part is a direct
quotation. Regarding the name of God and the prayers or
formulae often on the lips of even pagans, Cyprian follows
his model closely (18.10-11). Chapter ten may be associated
with the history of the Jews as given by Minucius (23.2-5)
though details are not given in likeness comparable to the
preceding chapters.

This work of Cyprian is worse plagiarism than⁽³⁾
Minucius or Tertullian can be accused of. Monceaux
exonerates Cyprian by suggesting that this treatise may be
merely notes on the subject taken from the writings of
Minucius and Tertullian and not intended for publication in
its present form.

- (1) These verbs are subjunctive in Cyprian as the result of an intervening construction.
- (2) Order of words slightly different in Minucius.
- (3) Op. cit. II, pp.269-270.

(1)

(1)

hem verum... vel exiliant etiam, vel evanescent
gradatim, prout fides catholica adjuvat aut gratia coram
adipiscit", "... ut non obstat incipienti homines antequam

nosce, ne cogitas aut incipit possint aut damare non
possint." Chapter eight brings proof of monothelism, which

chapter, after an introductory statement of the fact, follows
the evidence of Minucius (18.6-7) therefor, answering even

his rhetorical question. Chapter nine in Cyrillus's work
continues Octavian's argument in 22. The exactness of quotation

has led Cantabrigia, Ustinov and Walsby to restore "beatu

rior est" to the text of Minucius (18.6). The temple and
shrine of God is based upon Minucius (32.1-2): part is a direct

quotation. Regarding the name of God and the prayers or

formulas often on the lips of even persons. Cyrillus follows
his model closely (18.10-11). Chapter ten may be associated

with the history of the Jews as given by Minucius (22.2-5)

though details are not given in likeness comparable to the

preceding chapters.

This work of Cyrillus is worse than

(2)

Minucius or Tertullian can be accused of. Monothelism

exonerates Cyrillus by suggesting that this treatise may be

merely notes on the subject taken from the writings of

Minucius and Tertullian and not intended for publication in

its present form.

(1) These verbs are subjunctive in Cyrillus as the result of
an intervening conjunction.

(2) Order of words slightly different in Minucius.

(3) Cf. Minucius, I, pp. 260-270.

VI

DATE OF WRITING

It is difficult - no, impossible - to determine conclusively, not only the date of the composition of the "Octavius", but even the period in which the author lived. The book has no reference to any contemporaneous historical event. The mention of Fronto (31.2) by Minucius and the mention of Minucius by Lactantius fix the two limits, 160 and 300 A. D.

The question of date would be much simplified and the century, at least, would be made clear, if the dependence and relative priority of Minucius' work and Tertullian's "Apologeticus" (c. 198) could be proved. The decision on this point has been the usual basis for placing the writing of Minucius in the second century or in the third, and deciding his right to be called "the first Latin apologist". But as either premise can be refuted, either conclusion is unprovable.

(1)

Some suppose the date to have been about 160 A. D. because of the reference to Fronto (9.6) and some resemblances in style to Fronto and Apuleius. Furthermore "ut Parthos signa repetamus" (7.4) is thought to be the campaign of Verres in 162-163. But the mention of Fronto does not preclude a later date: indeed, some years are implied by Minucius between the occurrence of the scene and the writing of the book. Fronto and Apuleius retained their reputations, and were

(1) Schanz. See Monceaux op.cit. I, p466, note 10.

VI

DATE OF WRITING

It is difficult - no, impossible - to determine conclusively, not only the date of the composition of the "Octavian", but even the period in which the author lived. The book has no reference to any contemporaneous historical event. The mention of Tronto (31.2) by Minucius and the mention of Minucius by Laetantius fix the two limits, 100 and 300 A. D.

The question of date would be much simplified and the century, at least, would be made clear, if the dependence and relative priority of Minucius' work and Tertullian's "Apologeticus" (c. 198) could be proved. The decision on this point has been the usual basis for placing the writing of Minucius in the second century or in the third, and deciding his right to be called "the first Latin apologist". But as either premise can be refuted, either conclusion is unprovable.

(1)

Some suppose the date to have been about 100 A. D. because of the reference to Tronto (9.6) and some resemblances in style to Tronto and Apuleius. Furthermore "ut Barthes *signis reseramus*" (7.4) is thought to be the campaign of Varus in 102-103. But the mention of Tronto does not preclude a later date: indeed, some years are implied by Minucius between the occurrence of the scene and the writing of the book. Tronto and Apuleius retained their reputations, and were

imitated in style for several centuries. The victory over the Parthians is very indefinite and the standards were actually regained in the reign of Augustus (20 B.C.)

(1)

Others place the composition a little before 180. They think from the use of the plural of "rex" (29.5; 33.1; 37.1) that two emperors were on the throne, who are assumed to be Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. They judge that the book was written in the embitterment of great persecution (12.4; 28.1-5; 29.6; 37.1-6), which may have sprung from the storm of 177. Keim thinks that the "Octavius" was intended as an answer to the work of Celsus, which he places in 178. All of these reasons seem inconclusive. The use of "reges" and "principes" in each instance is in such a general sense that there seems little reason to infer a dual principate. Furthermore, the author mentions the disastrous issues of joint rule in the cases of Romulus and Remus, Caesar and Pompey, and concludes in the perfect tense "et tam magni imperii duos fortuna non cepit" (18.6), which would seem inappropriate were there two rulers at the time of writing. Most students of the subject do not think that the "Octavius" indicates persecution at the time of composition, although it distinctly shows previous suffering. The author makes known his name, profession and religion without apparent sense of danger; the tone is calm, without bitterness. All we know of the work of Celsus is from the refutation

(1) Aubé, Histoire des Persécutions de l'Eglise, p. 80.

Keim, Celsus' Wahres Wort, p. 156.

Renan, Marc-Aurèle etc. p. 389, note 3.

Teuffel, History of Roman Literature, Vol. II, pp. 245-247.

indicated in style for several centuries. The victory over
the Persians is very indefinite and the standards were
actually reported in the reign of Augustus (29 B.C.).
(1)
Others, like Strabo, mention a little before 130.
They think from the use of the plural of "rex" (29.5; 37.1;
37.1) that two emperors were on the throne, who are assumed
to be Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. They judge that the
book was written in the splendor of great persecution
(12.4; 28.1-2; 29.6; 37.1-6), which may have sprung from the
storm of 177. Kuhn thinks that the "Gothicus" was intended
as an answer to the work of Celsus, which he places in 178.
All of these reasons are inconclusive. The use of "reges"
and "principes" in such instances is in such a general sense
that there seems little reason to infer a dual empire.
Furthermore, the author mentions the disastrous issues of
joint rule in the cases of Romulus and Remus, Caesar and
Pompey, and concludes in the next sentence "et tam magis
improbi hoc fortuna non capit" (13.6), which would seem
incongruous were there two rulers at the time of writing.
Most students of the subject do not think that the "Gothicus"
indicates persecution at the time of composition, although
it distinctly shows previous suffering. The author shows
known his name, persecution and religion without apparent
sense of danger; the tone is calm, without bitterness.
All we know of the work of Celsus is from the refutation

(1) Annals of the Roman Empire as I have it, p. 80.
Kuhn, Historia Romana, p. 186.
Rosen, Handbuch der Römischen Literatur, Vol. II, pp. 245-247.
Toulmin, History of Roman Literature, Vol. II, pp. 245-247.

by Origin. On comparing the coincidences of Celsus with the
 (1) "Octavius", Salmon finds nothing conclusive. Aube', (2)

who is inclined to the opinion that Caecilius represents the essentials of Fronto's speech, is convinced that Minucius did not know of the work of Celsus; otherwise the author would have mentioned him rather than Fronto, the less formidable and less recent enemy.

(3) Many scholars think that Minucius wrote during the last decades of the second century. This conclusion is based mainly on their belief that Minucius was the predecessor and source of Tertullian. In addition they site the order (4) of Lactantius in his list of apologists, in which the name of Minucius precedes Tertullian's, the allusions to the alleged secret crimes of the Christians and the procedure against them, more appropriate to the second century than to the third. The difficulties of accepting the priority of Minucius have already been shown. Lactantius does not maintain chronological order. The references to the crimes of the Christians and procedure against them are found in apologists even to the fourth century.

(5) The majority of scholars are inclined to believe

-
- (1) Op.cit. p. 923. (2) Op. cit. p. 80.
 (3) Ebert, Schwenke, Rech. See Monceaux, op.cit. I, p. 466, note 10.
 (5) Boissier, op.cit. p. 308; Cruttwell, op.cit. p. 615;
 Salmon, op.cit. p. 924; Gwatkin, Early Church History to A.D. 313, Vol. I. p. 177; Cave, Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria, p. 66; see also Monceaux, op.cit. I, p. 466, note 10.
 (4) op. cit. V, 1, col. 551.

that the date of Minucius is in the first half of the third century. This conclusion is based primarily on their belief that Minucius used the work of Tertullian. The possible identification of the Caecilius Natalis of the dialogue with the Caecilius Natalis, magistrate in Cirta, gives credence to a date after 215 since his conversion could hardly have preceded his holding office. Jerome in "De Viris Illustribus" not only places Tertullian before Minucius but writes "Tertullianum presbyter nunc demum primus post Victorem et Apollonium Latinorum ponitur."⁽¹⁾ The peaceful tone of the book, the calmness of the Christians, may indicate a rather long period of relief from persecution. From the middle of the second century to the middle of the third, that is, from the last persecutions of Caracalla (c. 213) to the first persecutions of Decius (250) except for the trouble under Maximinus (235), was a time of peace with which the philosophic discussion of Minucius and his friends accords. A tradition affirms that Minucius was a contemporary of Pope Urban at Rome, that is, in the early part of Severus' reign (c.222)⁽²⁾ None of these are well established proofs of the time of Minucius; they are merely inferences as regard Caecilius of Cirta, persecution, and tradition; and Jerome is not to be trusted as to chronology.

(3)

Schultze places the date as late as 300-303 on the ground that "reges et principes" (37.1) shows that there were

(1) Op.cit. Vol. XXIII, LIII.

(2) Balduinus, op.cit.

(3) See Monceaux, op.cit. I, p. 467, and Salmon, op.cit. p. 922.

that the date of Minucius is in the first half of the third century. This conclusion is based primarily on their belief that Minucius used the work of Tertullian. The possible identification of the *Octavius* with the *Dialogue* of the *Octavius* is also possible. The *Octavius* is a date after 215 since his conversion could hardly have preceded his holding office. There is "De Vita Iuliana" not only places Tertullian before Minucius but writes "Tertullianus praesbyter nunc decessit" post Victorium at Apolloniae Latinarum portum." The successful tone of the book, the calmness of the Christians, may indicate a rather long period of relief from persecution. From the middle of the second century to the middle of the third, that is, from the last persecutions of Decius (250) to the first persecutions of Diocletian (303) except for the trouble under Maximian (285), was a time of peace with which the philosophical discussion of Minucius and his friends accords. A tradition attests that Minucius was a contemporary of Pope Urban at Rome, that is, in the early part of Severus' reign (c. 193). None of these are well established facts of the time of Minucius; they are merely inferences as regards *Octavius* of slight persecution, and tradition; and there is not to be trusted as to chronology.

Bohmer places the date as late as 300-303 on the ground that "pages of principles" (37.1) show that there were

- (1) *Octavius*, Vol. XVII, LIII.
- (2) *Octavius*, c. 11.
- (3) See *Monumenta*, *op. cit.* I, p. 467, and *Religion*, *op. cit.* p. 922.

not only Augusti but Caesares.

From a comparison of what scanty evidence can be brought to bear on the question of the writing of the "Octavius" the nearest conclusion is but a general one - that the book was composed at the close of the second or in the early years of third century. The book purports to be the account of a debate in which a pagan friend is converted to the Christian religion.

Of the author we only know that he was a Roman lawyer of distinction, who, after his conversion to Christianity, applied his learning to convince people of his own class that Christianity was not inconsistent with the standards of culture and morality but surpassed them in truth and purity.

Although the book has little of originality in content it is charmingly written. It shows the conditions and standards of the Christian church in the latter half of the second century of its existence, and is unique in its purpose to convert the intellectual class by way of their love of philosophy and literature.

not only August but October.

From a comparison of what scanty evidence can be

brought to bear on the question of the writing of the

"Octavins" the nearest conclusion is but a general one -

that the book was composed at the close of the second or

in the early years of third century.

VII

SUMMARY

The "Octavius" written by Minucius Felix survives in a single codex, the text of which is so corrupt that attempts at restoration have yielded many different readings in various editions. The book purports to be the account of a debate in which a pagan friend is converted to the Christian religion.

Of the author we only know that he was a Roman lawyer of distinction, who, after his conversion to Christianity, applied his learning to convince people of his own class that Christianity was not inconsistent with the standards of culture and morality but surpassed them in truth and purity.

Although the book has little of originality in content it is charmingly written. It shows the conditions and standards of the Christian church in the latter half of the second century of its existence, and is unique in its purpose to convert the intellectual class by way of their love of philosophy and literature.

The "Gospel" written by Minucius Felix survives

in a single codex, the text of which is so corrupt that attempts at restoration have yielded many different readings in various editions. The book purports to be the account of a debate in which a pagan friend is converted to the Christian religion.

Of the author we only know that he was a Roman lawyer of distinction, who, after his conversion to Christianity, applied his learning to convince people of his own class that Christianity was not inconsistent with the standards of culture and morality but surpassed them in truth and purity. Although the book has little of originality in content it is charmingly written. It shows the conditions and standards of the Christian church in the latter half of the second century of its existence, and is unique in its purpose to convert the intellectual class by way of their love of philosophy and literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alma, R. D. "Typographus Lectori." M. Minucii Felicis Octavius. Academiae Typographi, Cantabrigiae 1643.
- Aubé, B. Histoire des Persécutions de l'Eglise: La Polémique Païenne à la fin du II^e Siècle. Didier et C^{ie} Paris 1878. pp. 78-104.
- *Balduinus, Franciscus. "Praefatio Fr. Balduini in M. Minucii Felicis Octavium". M. Minucii Felicis Octavius. Ex officina Joan. Hayes, Cantabrigiae 1686.
- *Boissier, Gaston. La Fin du Paganism: Etude sur les dernières luttes religieuses en occident au quatrième siècle. Hachette et Cie, Paris 1891. Vol. I, pp. 305-338.
- Cave, Guilielmus. Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria a Christo Natu usque ad Saeculum XIV Facile Methodo Digesta. Typis T. H. & Impensis Richardi Chriswell, Londini, 1688. p. 66.
- *Ceillier, Remy. Histoire Générale des Auteurs Sacrés et Ecclésiastiques etc. nouvelle édition, chez Louis Vivès, 1858. Vol. I, pp. 550-557.
- Cox, A. Cleveland. "Introductory Note to Minucius Felix." The Ante-Nicene Fathers. The Christian Literature Publishing Company, Buffalo, 1885. Vol. IV, pp. 169-170.

*Cruttwell, Charles Thomas. A Literary History of Early Christianity: including the Fathers and the Chief Heretical Writers of the Ante-Nicene Period. Charles Griffin and Company, London, 1893. Vol. II, pp. 613-623.

Earnestus, Joannes Augustinus. "Ad Primam Lindneri Editionem Praefatio." Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Sirou, Paris 1844. Vol. III, pp. 219-223.

Eucherius. "Epistola Paraenetica ad Valerianum cognatum de contemptu mundi et saecularis philosophiae." Patrologiae Cursus Completus, apud editorem (Migne) Paris 1846. Vol. L, p. 719.

*Freese, J. H. The Octavius of Minucius Felix. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, N.D.

Gwatkin, Henry Melville. Early Church History to A. D. 313. Macmillan & Co., New York, 1912. Vol. I, pp. 174-211.

Halm, Carolus. "M. Minucii Felicis Octavius". Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, apud. C. Geroldi filium, Vindobonae, 1867. Vol. I, v-xxix.

*Hieronymus, S. Eusebius. "Epistolae", "De Viris Illustribus", "commentarii ad Isaiam prophetem". Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Vrayet, Paris, 1845. Vol. XXII, pp. 502, 595, 668. Vol. XXIII, p. 669. Vol. XXIV, p. 281.

Ortwell, Charles Thomas. A Literary History of Early

Christianity: Including the Fathers and the

Chief Heretical Writers of the Ante-Nicene Period.

Charles Scribner's Sons, London, 1907. Vol. II.

pp. 215-225.

Ernestus, Johannes Augustinus. "As Primus Litterari Editiones

Præfatio." Patrologia Graeca Goussier. Paris.

Paris 1844. Vol. III. pp. 219-227.

Bohmerus. "Epistola Praefatio ad Valerianum scripta de

commentis huius ad scripturae philosophia."

Patrologia Graeca Goussier. Paris (Paris)

Paris 1846. Vol. I. p. 719.

Wroe, J. H. The Origins of Christian Faith. Society for

Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, N.D.

Gwatkin, Henry Melville. Early Church History to A.D. 313.

Macmillan & Co., New York, 1912. Vol. I. pp. 174-211.

Hahn, Carl. "N. Michaeli Petiti Octavus." German

Scientific Sociological Association London, 1901.

Gerold, Fritz. Vindobona. 1867. Vol. I. w-xix.

"Hieronymus, B. Praefatio." "De Viris Illustribus."

"commentarii ad Iulianum Praefatio." Patrologia

Graeca Goussier. Paris, 1845. Vol. XIII.

pp. 202, 205, 208. Vol. XIII. p. 202. Vol. XIV.

p. 221.

Jackson & Gilmore. The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. Funk and Wagnalls Company, New York, 1910. Vol. VII, pp. 384-385.

Keim, Theodor. Celsus' Wahres Wort. Von Orell, Füssli & Co. Zürich, 1873. p. 156.

*Lactantius, L. Coelius. "Divinarum Institutionum Libri VII" Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Sirou, Paris, 1844. Vol. VI, pp. 180-181, 551.

Le Nourry, D. Nic. "Dissertatio in Marci Minucii Felicis Librum qui Octavius inscribitur". Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Sirou, Paris, 1844. Vol. III, pp. 371-407.

Lumper, D. Golhasr. "De M. Minucii Felicis Apologetae, vita, historia et scriptis." Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Sirou, Paris, 1844. Vol. III, pp. 194-199.

*Migne, J. P. Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Sirou, Paris, 1844. Vol. II, pp. iii-iv, xlv-lvi.

Mommsen. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum apud Georgium Reimerum, Berolini, 1881. Vol. VIII #1964, 6996, 7094-7098, 12499.

*Monceaux, Paul. Histoire Littéraire de L'Afrique Chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe. Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1901. Vol. I, pp. 463-508.

Jackson & Gilmore. The New Robert-Harrison Paleontology of
Religious Paleontology. New York and Washington Company,
 New York, 1910. Vol. VII. pp. 384-385.
 Kell, Theodor. Germanische Welt. Von der Welt, Berlin & Co.
 Berlin, 1877. p. 126.
 "Lactantius, L. Gollins. "Divinitas Institutionum Libri VII"
Patrologiae Graecae. Simon, Paris, 1844.
 Vol. VI. pp. 180-181, 182.
 Le Mouney, D. Nic. "Dissertation de Michel Minutoli Paleologia
Libri de Ecclesiis Institutionum". Patrologiae
Graecae. Simon, Paris, 1844. Vol. III. pp.
 375-407.
 Lomper, D. Gollins. "De M. Minutoli Paleologiae
Historia et critica". Patrologiae Graecae
Graecae. Simon, Paris, 1844. Vol. III. pp. 194-199.
 "Migne, J. P. Patrologiae Graecae. Simon, Paris,
 1844. Vol. II. pp. 114-115, 116-117.
 Kowars. Graecae Institutionum Latinitas et Germanica
 Reimerus, Berlin, 1881. Vol. VIII. pp. 1964, 1965,
 1966-1967, 1968.
 "Monod, Paul. Historia Institutionum de Africa Christiana
Graecae Institutionum Latinitas et Germanica.
 Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1901. Vol. I. pp. 463-508.

*Reifferscheid, Augustus. "Arnobii Adversus Nationes Libri VII."

Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, apud

C. Geroldi filium. Vindobonae, 1875. Vol. IV.

Praefatio vii-xiv.

Renan, Ernest. Marc-Aurèle et la Fin du Monde Antique.

troisième édition. Ancienne maison Michel Lévy

Frères, Paris 1882. pp. 389-404.

*Rendall, Gerald H. Minucius Felix. The Loeb Classical

Library. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1931.

pp. 304-313.

Rigaltius, Nicolaius. "Marci Minucii Felicis Octavius"

Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum et Antiquorum

Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum. apud Anissonios

Lugduni, 1677. Vol. III. pp. 234-235.

*Salmon, George. "Minucius Felix, Marcus". A Dictionary of

Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines;

during the first eight centuries. ed. Smith & Wace.

John Murray. London 1882. Vol. III, pp. 920-924.

Teuffel's History of Roman Literature, revised and enlarged

by Ludwig Schwabe, translation by George C. W. Warr

from Geschichte der Römischen Literatur. George

Bell and Sons, Cambridge, 1892. Vol. II, pp. 245-248.

*Waltzing, Joh. P. M. Minucii Felicis Octavius. Teubner,

Lipsiae, 1926.

*Waltzing, J. P. "Minucius Felix et Platon". Mélanges Boissier.

Albert Fontemoing, Paris 1903. pp. 455-460.

Wilhelm, Fridericus. De Minucii Felicis Octavio et

Tertulliani Apologetico. apud Guilielmum Koebner,

Vratislaviae, 1887.

* Important sources in preparing this paper.

*Waldman, J. P. "Minerals of the United States".

Adams, Boston, 1903. pp. 455-460.

Waldman, J. P. "Minerals of the United States".

Adams, Boston, 1903. pp. 455-460.

Waldman, J. P. 1907.

* Important sources in preparing this paper.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY



1 1719 02551 6875

